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ART. I.—REV. NOAH LEVINGS, D. D.

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IT is the object of this article to give a brief sketch of the life and character of an eminent servant of God, who, during more than thirty years' service in the ministry, filled with honour and success the various stations and offices to which he was called—everywhere winning the affections of the people, and at all times enjoying the confidence and esteem of his brethren, till he was suddenly summoned from his work to his reward.

NOAH LEVINGS was born in Cheshire county, New-Hampshire, on the 29th of September, 1796. His parents being in humble circumstances, he was sent from home to earn a livelihood when about eight or nine years of age. From that time he shared but few of the joys or advantages of the parental home. But, even among comparative strangers, the amiableness of his character and the faithfulness of his service everywhere secured for him friends. His early advantages for mental improvement were very limited—a source of much regret to him in after life. In his case, it was a matter of little consequence that the public schools were poorly supported and poorly conducted; that text-books were defective and teachers incompetent. To him, thirsting for knowledge, yet from very childhood compelled to toil for his daily bread, the few advantages they did afford would have been regarded as a boon above all price.

* The writer of this sketch, in penning these pages, has sought not less to perpetuate the memory of exalted worth, than to comply with the dying request of a dear friend and an honoured Christian brother. [*Note.*—The day before he died, he said,—“I wish the Rev. D. W. Clark, of the New-York Conference, to write my memoir.”]

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His early religious impressions were deep and lasting. But experimental religion was little known at that period within the circle of his acquaintance. High Calvinism had begotten its opposite in error,—Universalism, and the two opinions were in conflict for the mastery. It could not be doubtful, (apart from divine interposition,) in an age when the tone of piety and of morals was emphatically low, which would have the vantage-ground in the contest. The one required morality,—nay, piety, after its kind; the other dispensed with both, while at the same time its “policies of insurance” were issued on the largest scale. In such a contest, carried on in such an age, the chances were on the side of the scheme which promised most and required least. Nor have we any doubt that Universalism would long since have obtained the mastery in New-England, had not the fermenting mass been impregnated with the leaven of a purer faith and a richer experience. Divine Providence raised up a people to proclaim a free, a present, and a full salvation; this, by the new elements of Christian power it evoked, has proved a check and an antidote to the system of religious licentiousness which was sweeping over the land like a flood.

At the age of sixteen the subject of our memoir was apprenticed to a blacksmith in Troy, his parents having previously removed to that place. When he entered upon his new situation he formed the resolution to be faithful to his master, and regard his interests as his own. His morals were placed in great peril. His master was not religious, and did not pretend to control him upon the Sabbath; and he was led into the company of Sabbath-breakers, and with them spent much holy time in roaming over the fields and through the woods adjacent to the city. But his natural good sense, and the uncorrupted moral principles inculcated in early life, soon came to his relief. His parents, though not professedly pious, had trained their children to a strict observance of the Christian Sabbath, and now the moral influence of that early training revived and wrought his deliverance, as it has that of thousands of young men similarly exposed.

Breaking away from these associations, he determined to become a regular attendant upon the worship of God in some one of the churches. All churches were alike to him, for he had not become familiar with the creeds of any, nor, indeed, scarcely with the peculiarities in their forms of worship. He therefore determined upon a circuit of visitation to the several churches in the city; and, in carrying out this design, he first visited the Presbyterian church, then under the pastoral charge of Rev. Jonas Coe, D. D.; who, he says, “was a good man and an excellent pastor.” He next attended

the Baptist church, where "good old Mr. Wayland (the father of President Wayland) was the minister." Though favourably impressed with the piety and abilities of both of these servants of God, he could not feel at home in their congregations. His third visit was made to the Protestant Episcopal church, but there he was wearied with ceremonies too numerous and complicated to be either interesting or edifying. He next attended the meeting of the Friends; but here, instead of long prayers and tedious ceremonies, he heard nothing at all; nor was he loath to leave when the hour was up and the sign for closing given.

His last visit of inquiry was at the Methodist Episcopal church. He found a small house, occupied by a simple, plain, and solemn people. Their worship, though not imposing in its forms, was hearty and sincere. It not a little surprised him to witness, for the first time in his life, a congregation kneeling down in time of prayer. The conviction was wrought in his mind that this people were the people of God. Under the ministry of the Word, feelings were awakened which he had known nowhere else; and under the powerful reasonings and cogent appeals of the Rev. P. P. Sandford, the stationed minister, he was often made to feel that God truly was in that place. But it was more particularly under the preaching of the Rev. Laban Clark, who succeeded Mr. Sandford, that he was led to realize fully his lost condition, and to feel the necessity of seeking salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. On one occasion he left the church so overwhelmed with the consciousness of his guilt and wretchedness, that he almost bordered upon despair. The struggles of his soul were deep and powerful; and in the privacy of his closet he wrestled and agonized before God. This was long before he had broken the secret of his heart even to his most intimate friends. He at length unburdened his mind to a pious young man of his acquaintance. By this young man he was taken to the prayer-meeting, then held at the house of Dr. Landon, a man of God now departed to his rest, but whose memory is like "ointment poured forth." Here the young inquirer became more perfectly instructed in the way of salvation by faith, and was also a subject of special and earnest prayer.

He sought God sincerely and unreservedly; he prayed earnestly, and with many tears. There was no tie that he would not sunder, and no sacrifice that he would not make, if necessary, to secure the favour of his offended Lord. Yet his conversion was less sudden, and less strongly marked in its character, than that of many others. He was rather "drawn with the cords of a man and with the bands of love," than driven by the thunders of the law; though each had

their appropriate influence in leading him to the Saviour. Nor was the evidence of his change either sudden or clear. Upon this point he remained for a long time in a state of most distressing uncertainty. From the consciousness of guilt he had been delivered; but the witness of his adoption was necessary to complete his joy.

It was not till the 5th of June, 1815, that he was enabled to rejoice in this long-sought blessing. On that day—a day ever memorable in his history—as he was returning from his private devotions, where he had been wrestling with God for the witness of the Spirit, light broke in upon his soul, and he could exclaim, “Abba, Father,” with an unwavering tongue. The power of the tempter was broken; his doubts were all gone. A divine assurance—the gift of the Holy Spirit—reigned in his soul, and filled him with unspeakable joy. His swelling heart, overflowing with emotion, gave vent to its transports, while he cried aloud,—

“My God is reconciled,
His pard’ning voice I hear:
He owns me for his child,
I can no longer fear;
With confidence I now draw nigh,
And Father, Abba, Father, cry.”

But before obtaining this full assurance he had publicly dedicated himself to Christ, by uniting with his church, and boldly advocating his cause. He joined the Methodist Society as a probationer in 1813. The circumstances are thus related by the venerable minister of God who seems to have been the principal instrument of his conversion:—One day an apprentice-boy, in his blacksmith’s garb, direct from his labour, called upon him, and made application to be received into the society. He appeared to be about sixteen years of age; was small in stature, bashful in his address, and the circumstances of his introduction were peculiar and somewhat disadvantageous. Yet there was something so unassuming and so winning in his manner, so sincere and so intelligent in his whole appearance and conversation, that a very favourable impression was made upon the mind of the preacher, and he admitted him as a probationer; at the same time giving him encouragement and counsel. On the following Wednesday night, at their public prayer-meeting, when the leading members had prayed, and it was nearly time to dismiss the congregation, at the close of one of the prayers a youthful voice, whose feminine tones were scarcely sufficient to fill the church, was heard some two-thirds down the aisle, leading in prayer. The prayer was feeling and appropriate, but short—so short as to be, at the longest, comprised within a minute. As the preacher passed

down the aisle, his blacksmith boy stood at the end of the seat, waiting to grasp his hand with Christian affection. On the next Wednesday evening the silvery tones of the same youthful voice were again heard, near the close of the meeting, leading in its devotions. At this time he prayed with more fervour, more compass of thought, and more self-possession; and yet his prayer was not more than a minute and a half. At the close of the meeting, as the official brethren gathered around the preacher, one inquired who that boy was; another said his forwardness must be checked; and a third, that he must be stopped altogether. The preacher simply replied, "Now, brethren, let that boy alone,—there is something in him more than you are aware of;" and from that time no one questioned the right of the young blacksmith boy to officiate in the public prayer-meetings.

Such were the public beginnings of one who in after years became eminent as a minister of the gospel, distinguished alike for the ability and the success with which he preached "Christ crucified." Even the minister of God who had cherished him as a lovely and promising youth, little realized the chain of causes he was setting in motion, and the results that would grow out of them. He had gathered a chance jewel from among the cinders of the blacksmith's shop; but little did he comprehend the richness of its value, or the transcendent lustre its polished surface would assume. So often does God make "the weak things" of earth praise him, and "the day of small things" to become glorious before him.

It is remarkable that the two eminent servants of God, who were mainly instrumental in his conversion, are still in the effective ranks, enjoying a green old age, cheered, loved, and honoured by their brethren who have grown up around them. The next preacher stationed in Troy was the Rev. Tobias Spicer. To the instructions of this eminently sound and judicious minister, as well as to those of the Rev. Messrs. Clark and Chichester, the young disciple was much indebted in his early Christian history. He says (in his journal) that they seemed to labour less to excite a momentary feeling, than to produce a solid and permanent religious character; one that would be most likely to withstand the shocks of temptation, and to accumulate strength through every period of its future experience. Nor did he cease to acknowledge his obligations to these men of God till his dying day. Well had it been for thousands of sincere and susceptible young men, could they have been favoured with equally competent and judicious advisers. While the youthful character is in this transition state, the influences brought to bear upon it make a deep and generally ineffaceable impression; and, for weal

or wo, will they continue to bring forth life-long results. The proper training of young converts, and especially of young men in the Christian Church, is a work of as high moment in the magnitude of its results as that of the mere instrumentality of their conversion. For the want of sound Christian nurture, thousands cease to be of any account in the church, just at a point when their usefulness should be taking direction and acquiring character.

During the pastoral labours of Mr. Spicer in Troy, there was a very extensive work of God in the church; so extensive that the membership were increased from a hundred and seven to two hundred and fifty during the two years. The church edifice was small, plain, and unimposing; the membership were few in number, and poor in worldly means,—not many rich, not many great, not many noble were found among them. But they were devoted to God, and loved one another; and God put honour upon them, making them to abound in fruitfulness and joy. This revival, in an especial manner, awakened the zeal and called out the talents of young Levings. He had been converted at a time when no special revival was in progress; and the awakening and conversion of such multitudes seemed to fill him with astonishment and wonder, while at the same time it fired his own heart anew. He had already become an efficient teacher in the first Sabbath-school established in Troy, and then sustained by the different denominations of evangelical Christians. While yet in his minority he was appointed a class-leader; and when, at the Conference of 1817, the Rev. S. Luckey succeeded Mr. Spicer in charge of the station, he gave him license to exhort. On the 20th day of December following, being then a few months over twenty-one, he was duly licensed as a local preacher by the quarterly conference of the station.

Up to this time he appears to have had no distinct idea of entering the ministry. He had, indeed, an ardent desire to do all he could for the glory of God and for the salvation of men; but, so high appeared to him to be the qualifications necessary for a Christian minister, and so small and insignificant did his own appear to himself, that entering the sacred office seemed entirely out of the question. His mind had been at ease under this view of the subject; but now it came up before him in a new and stronger light. He was out of his apprenticeship; he was also of age; the responsibility of determining his future course now devolved upon himself. He wished to do right; he had an ardent desire to do good; he was wedded in his affections to the Church of God; he groaned in spirit for the salvation of a dying world. And yet the magnitude of the work, the fearful and far-reaching nature of its responsibilities, ap-

palled him. After many struggles of mind, he was at length led to the determination to follow the convictions of duty and the openings of Providence. Accordingly, on the 7th of March, 1818, his license to preach was renewed, and he was recommended to the New-York Annual Conference. The session of the conference was held in May following, in the city of New-York. He was here received on trial and appointed to the Leyden circuit, having the Rev. Ibri Cannon for his senior preacher and superintendent.

If it had cost him a struggle to decide upon entering the ministry, he was now subject to a trial of a different character, but scarcely less painful to youthful sensibilities. He had been appointed to a distant circuit, and must now bid adieu to the home and the cherished friends of his youth. And then the prospect before him was by no means congenial to the feelings of a young man of a feeble constitution and a timid nature. An extensive circuit, embracing the roughest portions of Massachusetts, and spreading out over the hills of Vermont—giving promise of long rides through cold and mountainous regions and over bad roads, and also of much labour and but little worldly reward—was a prospect that might have disheartened a mind of less nerve or a soul of weaker faith. But he had put his hand to the gospel plough; and he could say, "None of these things move me." He left home for his appointment the day after he received it. After a ride of fifty miles on horseback, over roads rendered difficult by the thawing and heaving of the frost, having crossed the Green Mountains and descended into the valley of the Deerfield river, in a spot encircled by mountains covered with their ancient forests, he found himself upon the borders of his circuit. Leyden circuit, in 1818, included all that tract of country from the Green Mountains on the west to the Connecticut River on the east, embracing portions of the counties of Bennington and Windham, in Vermont, and of Franklin and Berkshire, in Massachusetts. Among the towns and villages in which he and his colleague preached, were Readsboro', Whittingham, Wilmington, Halifax, Guilford, Vernon, Brattleboro', Marlboro', and Dummerston, in Vermont; and Leyden, Bernardston, Northfield, Gill, Shelburne, Colerain, Charlemont, Rowe, Monroe, and Florida, in Massachusetts. Dummerston on the northern, and Shelburne on the southern, extremity of the circuit were some fifty miles apart. Northfield, the eastern appointment, was on the east side of the Connecticut River; and Florida, the western limit, was hid among the Green Mountains, near the western border of the State. One round of the circuit required a ride of not far from two hundred and fifty miles. To *traverse* this region at all seasons of the year, and in all kinds of weather, was no

light undertaking. But to preach and lead class three times upon the Sabbath, frequently riding from five to ten miles between the afternoon and evening appointments, and then, after long rides during the day, to preach several evenings in each week, was a labour that required a robust constitution and a determined spirit. What, but the love of souls, could have constrained these men of God to such sacrifices and such labours?

The modification of the circuit system has been a natural and necessary result of the growth and increase of Methodism. By this modification, the labours of the preachers, so far as it regards long rides and frequent exposures, have been much abridged; without, however, abridging in the least their opportunities of labouring to build up the kingdom of Christ. Restricted as may now seem many of our little stations, or "patches," as they have been sometimes called by way of derision, when compared with the old circuits, we doubt not but that the most laborious servant of God might find sufficient to do in them to employ his whole time and consume his whole energy. The time necessarily spent formerly in accomplishing the long rides of the circuit, now rigidly devoted to earnest, faithful pastoral visitation, would not only furnish bodily exercise, but also tell in its influence upon the spirituality and usefulness of the minister. Nor should it be forgotten that the present arrangement of our stations, as well as the increasing intelligence of our people, requires an amount of exhausting intellectual labour utterly impracticable under a *régime* like the old circuit system. Indeed, such a system,—admirably adapted as it is to a country sparsely settled, and to the culture of weak societies widely scattered—becomes impracticable in a densely populated religious communion. It is one of the glories of Methodism that in all its economy, merely prudential, it possesses a flexibility that will ever adapt it to its changing circumstances, and to the wants of its growing communion. If, however, any one should be unable to satisfy his longings for amplitude of space wherein to exercise his powers, we advise him to emigrate to some country where a sparser population is to be found; to decamp forthwith for the prairies of the West, where his powers may have full scope, while he skirts along the vast range of the western borders of civilization. The moon-struck wight who now sighs for the good old days of long circuit riding, may be placed in the same category with those censors, who, making war upon the fashions of this degenerate age, would have us go back to the buck-skin breeches and coon-skin caps worn by our ancestors, when forests were to be levelled and fields cleared for the habitations of men.

Upon the Leyden circuit the preacher was well received:—his

piety and his sincerity were so strongly marked that they won the entire confidence of the people. There was also a timidity in his manner, and an exquisite sensibility in his character, which took strong hold upon their sympathies. When standing in the pulpit he was often unable to look his congregation in the face, so great was his timidity; but the earnestness of his zeal and the deep emotions of his soul, often expressed by the tears that flowed plentifully down over his face, found a response in the hearts of his congregation. The growth of his personal piety and the cultivation of his mind were objects of deep interest to him. To promote the former, he watched, prayed, fasted, and meditated; he studied with devout attention the Holy Scriptures, and read with deep interest the lives of holy and devoted servants of God, that he might understand their character, imitate their example, and be imbued with their spirit. Of his desire to improve his mind, he gave evidence by his devotion to study whenever he arrived at one of those delightful homes for the itinerant scattered here and there over the circuit, and where he rested a day or two to recruit his exhausted powers for new fatigues. Solid attainments in both piety and learning, he felt were indispensable to him as a Christian minister. No amount of knowledge or sprightliness of talent would, he knew, answer as a substitute for sound, genuine piety. Learning, unsanctified by religion, unwarmed by love, would be, like the mountain iceberg, splendid and imposing in appearance, but chilling and freezing in influence. But, on the other hand, zeal, and even a well-intentioned piety, would not answer as a substitute for a sound knowledge of divine things.

It was under the influence of such convictions as these, that he was led to apply himself diligently to the cultivation of both heart and intellect. And, no doubt, here among the hills and mountains of Leyden, while preaching to small and unlettered congregations, gathered for the most part in private rooms and school-houses, it was that he laid the foundation of that character which afterwards bore him up through a long and successful ministry in many of the most responsible and important appointments within the wide range of the New-York Conference. Many young men have set out with as good promise and as high hopes as the subject of our memoir; but, imagining themselves straitened and cramped in their genius by small congregations and a rude field of labour, have flattered themselves that they would put forth their energies when assigned to more responsible and prominent posts. Thus self-deceived, and lured into a species of mental dissipation, before they were aware of it, their habits have become formed and their mental character fixed; and thenceforward, though the goal was often seen in the

distance, and a spark of momentary ambition awakened, it soon subsided, and their lives flowed on in one sluggish and unvarying course. One of our most eminent divines and eloquent preachers once said to me, that many of his most finished and effective discourses were elaborated while travelling among the hills of upper Pennsylvania, and were first preached to congregations of ten or a dozen Germans gathered into log school-houses. Those same discourses have since been listened to with admiration by immense audiences in several of our large cities.

The spring at length came, and the session of conference was drawing near. The young itinerant found it hard to part with the people of his charge. They had greeted him in their dwellings, and stayed up his hands in their congregations. When dispirited and care-worn they had cheered and comforted him; in sickness they had watched over him and hailed with joy his returning health; and together had they shared the common sympathies and joys of the people of God. He had suffered in his long rides and fatiguing labours; he had been drenched by the falling rain; he had been chilled by the piercing cold as he traversed the bleak hills of his circuit; by night as well as by day had he been in peril, as he threaded his path through miry and toilsome ways. But the very scenes of his toils and his trials had become endeared to him by the honour God had placed upon him, and the favour he had given him in the eyes of the people. His last round upon his circuit was, no less to the people than to himself, an affecting, weeping time.

On the 29th of April he re-crossed the Green Mountains; and on the 1st of May reached the city of Troy, which was to be the seat of the conference that year. His welcome by his brethren was such as to assure him that he had not lost his place in their affections. The next day, being Sunday, he preached to a crowded house, in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. The conference adjourned on the 14th, and he received his appointment as junior preacher on Pownal circuit. It was but sixteen miles distant; and the evening of the same day of his appointment found him within the bounds of his charge. This was to him a delightful year, spent among a kind and loving people. He was still ardent in the prosecution of his studies and earnest in the cultivation of his piety. During this year he had deep and powerful convictions upon the subject of entire sanctification; and frequent and protracted were his struggles for the attainment of this blessing. Nor were those struggles in vain; though he failed, "because of unbelief," to enter into that glorious rest, his piety became more deep, solid, and ardent.

In 1820 he was ordained deacon by Bishop George, and appointed

to Montgomery circuit. This year exceeded in toils and hardships either of the former years of his itinerancy. His health became so enfeebled by labour and exposure, that on his return to Troy in the spring his friends were greatly alarmed, and all regarded him as already marked for an early grave. Yet he received his appointment, determined, if he fell, to fall at his post. The appointment, Saratoga circuit, proved highly favourable. He recovered his health, and his labours on the circuit were very acceptable and useful. While on Montgomery circuit he had been united in marriage to Miss Sarah Clark, who, after sharing with him the varied experience of an itinerant's life for nearly thirty years, is left in lonely widowhood by his demise.

Near the close of his year on Saratoga circuit, the presiding elder of that district, the Rev. D. Ostrander, communicated to him that the bishop, at the ensuing conference, purposed sending him to the northern part of Vermont. This information he had left with the presiding elder, directing him to communicate it just before the conference, so that he might have an opportunity to visit his friends and make preparations for removing; and probably, also, that his mind might be in some measure prepared for a post involving much labour and privation. The reflections of the young minister on the reception of this by no means welcome intelligence, are worthy of being preserved as illustrative of his character, and of the principles that actuated him in his work:—

“It is understood that preachers in that part of the work fare rather poorly with regard to temporal things. This, with some other considerations, has rendered it rather an unwelcome lot to many. But I shall interpose no objection to going. For, 1. It is purely an episcopal appointment. 2. I am willing to take my share of the hard as well as the pleasant appointments. 3. I am now young, and have no family except a wife; and we, being both young and in good health, can go as well as not,—at any rate, better now than at any future period. 4. Having thrown myself upon the providence of God, as a Methodist travelling preacher, it would illy become me to forestall that providence and choose for myself. 5. I wish at all times to have the satisfaction of knowing that I am in the order of God, and then I can go to him at all times with confidence, for relief in trouble and for help in labour.”

Accordingly, at the ensuing conference—having been ordained elder—he was sent to Middlebury, Vermont. He commenced his ministry by discoursing from the text, “We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus’ sake.” And this text he placed before himself as the rule or formula after which his ministrations were to be modelled. The people received him with joy, sustained his hands in the work, and his labours were crowned with good results. The next year he was stationed in Burlington. We find him, while in these two appointments,

still intent upon improving his mind and heart. "I feel," he would exclaim, "the want of more retirement for prayer and meditation, and for a closer application to study. Nothing but a closer application to study, accompanied with much prayer, will ever burst the bands of ignorance and darkness from my mind. Nothing but this will enable me to fathom and unfold the depths and the fulness of the divine Word. Nothing but this will make me 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed,' skilfully and successfully preaching the 'gospel of the kingdom.' How much have I yet to learn of God, of myself, of my duty, of my privileges, and of the best manner of doing good! O Lord, teach me by thy Holy Spirit; and help me to be diligent in all things." Such were the aspirations of the youthful minister! Such his longings after God! Such his zeal to qualify himself to sustain the high responsibilities of his ministry!

Among the many books he read about this time, was the *Life of Napoleon*. The history and character of the Emperor started in his mind a problem which has no doubt often troubled many a devout and sincere inquirer; and which can be solved only by a sense of the dimness of our spiritual vision and the gross sordidness of our nature, even under the most favourable circumstances. When men are ready to make such sacrifices, brave such dangers, endure such labours, and ever manifest such sleepless, untiring zeal for earthly good, the possession of which is so transitory, and its enjoyment so imperfect, why is it that Christians, professing to believe in all the solemn realities of eternity—the enduring bliss of heaven—are so feeble and languid in their efforts to secure an immortal crown? "Did we but labour with as much diligence and zeal for the incorruptible, as Napoleon did for the corruptible crown, what victories over the world, the flesh, and the devil should we achieve! How much good we should do, and how much happiness we should enjoy!"

While at Burlington he made frequent excursions into the neighbouring towns and villages, preaching the gospel with varied success. He would often leave home with a range of appointments for each evening running through two weeks. In some of these appointments he would meet with opposition, in others a hearty welcome. Sometimes his preaching was in demonstration of the Spirit and with great power, so that the breath of the Lord came down, and, in a mighty gale, swept over the valley of dry bones. These evangelical labours he prosecuted with even more success during the second year of his labours in Burlington; and they resulted in the permanent establishment of Methodism in several places. So fully had he imbibed the itinerant spirit, that on his way to the confer-

ence at Malta, in the spring of 1825, he took a circuit through Middlebury, Sandy Hill, Glenn's Falls, Amsterdam, Funda's Bush, and several other places, proclaiming a free, full, and present salvation in every place.

His next two years were spent upon the Charlotte circuit, in Vermont. From this place he was removed, at the conference of 1827, to the city of New-York. This appointment was unsought by him. So far from it, when he learned that such was the probable result, he ventured a request to the bishop to appoint him to some other portion of the work. And when the appointment had been made, he came to the city with many misgivings and with much fear. But he solaced himself with the reflection that the appointment was not of his own seeking; and, therefore, should he fail, on that ground he would be free from censure. The city of New-York then comprised one circuit with seven churches, and a membership of three thousand two hundred and eighty-nine persons. The churches were those now known as the John, Forsyth, Duane, Allen, Bedford, (then Greenwich Village,) Seventh, (then Bowery Village,) and Willet-street churches. Six preachers were stationed in the city. They circulated through the appointments in regular order, each preaching in the morning in one church, in another in the afternoon, and in a third in the evening; thus completing the circuit in a little over two weeks.

In this new field of labour the popular talent of Mr. Levings found ample room for exercise and abundant stimulus to call it forth. His discourses were characterized rather by brilliancy than depth of thought, by apt and striking illustration rather than by strength of reasoning. The tenacity of his memory and the fluency of his speech were alike remarkable. He never wanted for words, and his superintendent on the circuit, "representing his case" before conference, said, "Brother Levings was born with words on his tongue." The tones of his voice were well managed and pleasing; his gesture was appropriate and exceedingly graceful; his delivery was ardent, while at the same time his whole manner was self-possessed. These were precisely the qualities to render a man popular in New-York. Accordingly his congregations were crowded to excess. Numbers followed him from church to church, unwittingly, perhaps, violating the proprieties of the Christian Sabbath and of the worship of God in order to enjoy the eloquence of their favourite preacher. More than twenty years have passed away since that period, and yet I find many who still retain a vivid recollection of portions of his discourses, and of the effects produced upon the congregations by them. He has, during this period, been accused of catering to the religious

enthusiasm of that class of excitable persons, whose manifestations of piety are apt to be more vociferous than practical. What foundation for this charge his preaching at that day, when youthful enthusiasm was at its height, may have afforded, we will not undertake to say; or, indeed, how far his ardent zeal and his own high state of religious enjoyment may have superinduced these results, is a question we may not now profitably discuss. The purity of his Christian and ministerial character none have ever doubted; nor have any questioned but that the great ends of the gospel ministry were accomplished through his labours.

The manner in which he felt the responsibilities of his work, and the spirit that actuated him in its commission, may be best seen in the private journal of his labours and experience. In his record of September 7th, for this year, he says:—

“For some weeks past I have felt more than ever the importance of the work in which I am engaged. I trust that I am enabled to love God more than ever before. O that my heart may be filled with supreme love to Him who is my life and my salvation! Blessed be the Lord God, my heart seems more and more taken up in his work! I am far from believing that raptures are a sure evidence of deep piety. It is a good remark, that shallow water *ripples*, while that which is deep generally rolls on in silence and tranquillity. If I have my will subdued, my passions governed, and my affections sanctified and set on things above, then have I evidence of a deep and genuine work of grace. O Lord, search my heart and know me; see if there be any wicked way within me, and lead me in the way everlasting.”

On another occasion, when he had completed his thirty-first year, he enters into the following train of reflections:—

“How swiftly do the years fly away! How soon will eternity be my everlasting home! How stands the account, let me inquire, between God and my soul? Wherein am I better than I was one year ago? Do I love God more than I did then? Have I a greater deadness to the world, or a greater conformity to Christ? Do I feel more the importance of the work in which I am engaged? I have much reason for repentance upon all these points; and yet in some respects I trust I am advancing in the divine life. Some of these questions I believe I can answer in the affirmative. But how slow my progress! I feel myself to be the weakest of the weak. O, for divine grace to help me! I have of late had some gracious intimations of the divine willingness to make my heart His constant home. O, when shall I experience all the fulness of God!”

Thus do we find this servant of God, in the full tide of his popularity, still yearning after holiness of heart; still panting for full redemption in the blood of Christ. Nothing could seduce him from his allegiance to the Saviour; nothing could unsettle him in his determined reliance upon Christ.

He had a buoyancy and elasticity of spirit that sometimes seemed to border upon lightness. This he felt to be a sore temptation. He says:—

"The Lord knows, and, to some extent, I know, that I have many imperfections, both as a Christian and a minister. I am naturally prone to be unguarded in speech; especially when in the company of Christians and ministers. By this I sometimes inadvertently offend against the generation of God's children. This often wounds my heart and wrings it with sorrow. May God forgive and help me, that I offend not in word; for 'the same is a perfect man, and able also to bridle the whole body.'"

We admire the watchfulness which thus led him to write bitter things against himself. But we have never known in him a breach of Christian courtesy to his brethren. And though possessed of a lively imagination, fine colloquial powers, and an inexhaustible fund of anecdote, making him a most interesting social companion; yet we must say, whatever may have been his faults in earlier life, that we have always found this exuberance chastened by the most sweet and lovely Christian spirit. The record of this temptation in his journal shows, that while panting for more holiness he did not cease to watch with a godly jealousy over himself.

During the fall of this year the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson sickened and died at the house of his friend, George Suckley, in the city of New-York. During his sickness it was the privilege of our brother to visit him, to be instructed by his counsel, and cheered by his resignation and by the triumphs of his faith. Under date of September 17th he says:—

"This morning I visited the venerable Freeborn Garrettson, who lies dangerously ill at the residence of George Suckley, Esq. He is faint, yet pursuing; and I trust will make a good and glorious end, when called to lay down his body and his charge. He said, 'I have given up my wife and daughter; my treasure is in heaven.' Then with uplifted hands he exclaimed,—'I want to go home to Jesus. There is nothing below worth looking upon.' And, addressing himself to me, he said,—'Keep straight forward, straight forward.' I then said,—'Sir, you must feel at this time something like Simeon of old, having lived to see the salvation of God these thirty or forty years in the rise and progress of Methodism in these United States.' But on my expressing some fear lest we, who are sons in the Gospel, should suffer the work to decline from its original simplicity and purity, he instantly replied,—'You will stand, and do better than we have done.'"

Nine days later the good old patriarch departed to his rest. The dying scene, as well as the character and history of this old veteran of Methodism, seemed to make an ineffaceable impression upon the mind of the young preacher; and led him to long after the spirit of the old Methodist preachers, and to desire to imitate them in the entireness of their devotion and the abundance of their labours. Like Elisha, he prayed that the mantle of the departing man of God might fall upon him.

At the conference of 1829, Mr. Levings was stationed in the city of Brooklyn. During this year his family was much afflicted with

sickness; and one of his children, "little Charles Wesley," was taken from him. His feelings on the occasion are thus expressed:—

"Shall we receive good and not also evil at the hand of the Lord?"

'Thankful I take the cup from thee,
Prepared and mingled by thy skill;
Though bitter to the taste it be,
Powerful the wounded soul to heal!"

He was returned a second year to Brooklyn, and throughout the period of his stay laboured with efficiency and success. During this second year he accompanied John Garrison, Esq., on a pilgrimage to Salem, New-Jersey, to erect a monument over the grave of that distinguished and holy man of God, Benjamin Abbott. At the conference of 1831 he was elected a delegate to the General Conference, and appointed to New-Haven. During his second year in New-Haven, the church in Fair Haven was erected through his agency. Finding an opening there to do good, he undertook to erect a small building for a prayer and lecture room; but the subscription soon became so large that he felt warranted in the erection of a church. In this enterprise, however, he was greatly afflicted by the opposition of some from whom he had looked for assistance and encouragement. This not only wounded his feelings, but in a measure crippled his energies. However, he went forward in the name of the Lord; and, being nobly sustained by one or two brethren, he carried the enterprise to so favourable an issue, that when the church had been completed, and was committed to a board of trustees, the debt upon it amounted to but one hundred and ninety dollars. Soon after, the society in that place was organized into an independent station, and have continued to maintain themselves as such until the present day.

His success in New-Haven was not such as to afford him much satisfaction; and he regarded his labours there with almost as much pain as pleasure. At their close, he was led to review the causes of this want of success. This he did with deep feeling and with much prayer. As his reflections may be applicable to other societies, and withal are suggestive of important considerations, we insert them in brief, premising that we have no reason to believe them to be more applicable to that particular society at the present day than to any other. The following he regarded as the prominent causes of the want of success and of prosperity in the society:—

- "1. Want of greater zeal, piety, and faithfulness on the part of the preacher.
- "2. Divisions and party-spirit among the members of the church.
- "3. Want of union, brotherly love, and Christian forbearance among the official members.

"4. Neglect of the leaders in visiting the members of their respective classes.

"5. Neglect of, or an irregular attention to, the prayer-meetings by the official members.

"6. Disaffection among some (very few, I trust) to the institutions of the church."

One of the evidences of this disaffection on the part of certain persons, was the fact, that whatever was written and published by disaffected persons abroad, would soon find its way into their hands, and seem to find a ready response from their hearts; and by them be circulated among other members of the church with great industry. Whatever assailed the church seemed to be regarded by them with more interest than that which was written for its vindication.

These are great evils in a church; and, wherever they exist to any extent, they furnish a powerful obstacle to its religious prosperity. They will neutralize the most devoted and self-sacrificing efforts of the Christian minister. He may preach with "the tongues of men and of angels," but the word, to a great extent, must remain fruitless. The last cause mentioned might seem to indicate an undue and selfish jealousy on the part of the preacher. But we are bold to say, that whenever a restless dissatisfaction has crept into a society or church, its members themselves are the main sufferers by it. Persons affected by this spirit, well-intentioned and pious as they may be, see everything in a wrong light. They may continue to adhere to the church; but their feelings are not cordial; their labours are not hearty, nor yet in faith. The hands of the minister and of the other members are weakened by them. Through them the Church has no unity, no strength, and no success. And then the very want of success becomes an occasion of more bitter complaint; and too often is regarded as confirmation strong of the justice of their prejudice and disaffection. Thus, as it is said of jealousy, the spirit they possess creates the food upon which it feeds and by which it is nourished. This is the natural result of disaffection in a church; and sometimes it requires years of toil to repair the damage wrought in a few months. Nor are those societies few in number which have received shocks from which they never recovered.

Mr. Levings took but little part in the deliberations of the General Conference in 1832, being summoned home, on account of the sickness of his wife, soon after its commencement. The Troy Conference was this year organized, comprising the northern portion of the former New-York Conference. To accommodate the work, it became necessary to transfer him to this conference the next year, and he was appointed to Garrettsen station, Albany. At first he

yielded a reluctant assent to the transfer—heeding the saying, *A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and among his own kin*; but his reception was so cordial among the people, and God opened his way so graciously, that he soon felt the change to be in the order of divine Providence.

He had been absent from this region six years, during which time he had filled three heavy and responsible appointments. His desire for mental improvement, and especially to enlarge the sphere of his theological knowledge, continued unabated. Besides extended studies in the Evidences of Revealed Religion, and in Systematic Divinity, he had given considerable attention to Greek and Hebrew. But his progress in these latter studies was retarded by his necessary attention to pastoral and ministerial duties. He seemed to act upon the principle of Wesley,—“Getting knowledge is a good thing, but saving souls is a better.” Not that he would pervert the maxim into an apology for the neglect of study; but in all his studies he would not forget that the grand object of them should be to make him more skilful and more successful in winning souls to Christ. And while he husbanded the fragments of his time for the acquisition of knowledge, he did not forget that the duties of the pastoral office had a paramount claim. During this period also he had repeated calls to dedicate churches, and to deliver missionary and Bible addresses. In these efforts he uniformly acquitted himself as a workman that needed not to be ashamed. Two of his dedication sermons were published, and are very creditable specimens of pulpit eloquence.

His labours in Albany were greatly blessed, and he returned a net increase of one hundred and six members to the next conference. During the year he had also visited various places without the bounds of his charge, preaching the Word of life with power and success. In 1834 he was stationed in Troy: thus, after sixteen years’ absence from the society which raised him up, and from which he went forth to preach the Word of life, he was returned to them as their pastor. In his weakness they had watched over him; they had counselled, encouraged, and prayed for him. While yet a stripling they had sent him forth into the vineyard of the Lord with their benedictions upon his head; and now, in the maturity of his strength, he came back to repay their kindness, and to devote his energies to the building of them up in the Lord. To the people, though he had been absent so long, he seemed as one of themselves. They received him with joy, laboured with him in harmony, and, at the end of his two years, were parted from him with deep sorrow. He was a delegate to the General Conference of 1836, held in Cincinnati,

and was distinguished no less by the amenity of his deportment, than by his judicious and conservative course in regard to the profoundly important and exciting subjects that came before that body.

At the ensuing annual conference he was stationed in Schenectady. The society here had just erected a new and beautiful church; and Methodism was assuming a position and an importance in the place that it had not previously had. Accordingly, in entering upon his charge, he felt that a great responsibility rested upon him. The character of Methodism in the place was to receive a new stamp, and the work of God a new impulse; its altered and improving circumstances required the development and right direction of new elements of moral power. Entering upon his work with these views and feelings, he prosecuted it with unwearied diligence and with great success. The congregation was greatly increased in numbers, and also improved in character. The membership of the church rose from one hundred and ninety-one to three hundred and fifteen; and to his services Methodism is not a little indebted for its character and standing even at the present day.

During the two years spent in this place he dedicated seven churches, one of which was the Seventh-street Church in New-York city. He also delivered a great number of special sermons, as well as missionary, Bible, and temperance addresses. The performance of so much labour abroad, while at the same time his flock were not neglected at home, shows that he was a man of untiring industry as well as of great activity. In the spring of 1837 he was called to dedicate a church in Hinesburgh, Vermont, under very interesting circumstances. Eleven years before, while on the Charlotte circuit, he had formed a small society in that place; a weak and sickly plant, he hedged it around, and fostered it by his labours and his prayers, yet doubtful of its existence and growth. But, watered from on high, it had taken root, grown up, and become a vigorous tree. The little society had now erected a house in which to worship God; and he, who had been the apostle of God's grace to their souls, was called to perform the solemn service of consecration. The recollections of former seasons and of former toils were vividly awakened in his mind by this visit. Greatly did he rejoice to find that the bread cast abroad upon the waters had been gathered after many days, and that his work had not been in vain in the Lord.

While in Schenectady, Mr. Levings had the good fortune to become personally acquainted with Dr. Nott, President of Union College. In him he found a kind friend, and a judicious, able counsellor; and not unfrequently did the doctor assist him in his work. At the invitation of the president, Mr. Levings preached to the stu-

dents in the college chapel, and his discourse was well received and highly spoken of. Indeed, so favourable was the impression made, that, subsequently, while stationed in Albany, he was invited to perform a similar service. The estimate of his talents and acquirements formed by Dr. Nott, was afterwards expressed in a very significant manner; as, on his recommendation, the college over which he presided conferred on Mr. Levings the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

From some cause or other, some of the society in Schenectady were very much opposed to the preacher appointed by the conference to succeed him. Seeing only evil to the society, as well as to the preacher, in this opposition, his generous heart impelled him to throw himself between the people and preacher, and his fertile mind readily found a way to do it effectually. He reached home on Saturday, and, while the tones of discontent and dissatisfaction were heard all around him, he entered the pulpit the next day, (the preacher not having arrived,) and preached in the morning from,—“But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this man to reign over us.” (Luke xix, 14.) In the afternoon he took for his text,—“Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?” (Isa. liii, 1.) Those who have marked the fertility of his mind, the facility with which he adapted himself to circumstances, can well conceive how these two subjects were employed on this occasion. Suffice it to say, no murmur of discontent was afterwards heard. The preacher was well received, laboured in harmony with the people, and the result of his first year’s labour was a net increase of seventy-five members; and a year later the same society reported to the conference a membership of four hundred and fifty, showing a net increase of one hundred and thirty-five in two years. How much better for the society than to run upon the rock on which so many societies have literally “split!” In the rejection of a minister, it is rarely the case that he is the only sufferer; often divisions and heart-burnings grow out of it, distrust is engendered, and years elapse before the church recovers from the self-inflicted evil. We say “self-inflicted,” because we have found that these objections often, if not generally, arise from unfounded prejudices or false views; and, at best, a violent remedy will almost invariably prove to be a worse evil than that which it seeks to cure.

At the conference of 1838 Mr. Levings was appointed presiding elder of Troy district. At the ensuing conference, however, he was removed from the district, being succeeded by the Rev. T. Spicer, and appointed to the North Second street charge in the city of Troy. On announcing the change to the conference, the bishop paused in reading the appointments, and stated that he had not made this

change, 1st. Because brother Levings had requested it; for he had not. 2d. Nor because he considered him incompetent to the charge of the district. 3d. Nor because he had been unfaithful in discharging the duties of the district; for in both these respects he had the fullest satisfaction from both preachers and people on the district. 4th. But the change was made because brother Levings was wanted for another field of labour. This change brought him again into the midst of a people to whom he was strongly attached, and by whom he was greatly beloved. Not only were they strongly devoted to him, but they fulfilled the divine injunction,—“Love one another.” They were united and faithful; and the year was one of signal blessings—the return made to conference showing a net increase of one hundred and twenty members.

From this station he was transferred, at the conference of 1840, to Division-street, Albany, where he spent the two succeeding years. During the summer of this first year he was greatly afflicted with the loss of a much-loved daughter. She died after an illness of only a few days, aged a little over five years. He had lost other children, but this was emphatically the child of his heart; and to part with her, he says, “was one of the severest trials of his life.” For some months previous to her death, she had frequently spoken of dying and going to be with her Saviour, and with her little twin sister who had died when but a little more than a year old. She often sang, with apparently deep feeling, the verse commencing,—

“What is this that steals upon my frame?
Is it death, is it death?”

Thus exhibiting a maturity of intellect and of faith, uncommon at so early an age, the little sufferer passed sweetly away to her rest. From very childhood she had been the *companion* and *friend* of her father, an angel of love hovering around him, a sunbeam from heaven shining upon his path. Painful was the visitation, deeply was he chastened; but salutary did he feel the discipline to be.

From Albany he was removed to Troy, and again stationed in the State-street church. At the close of this year, it was generally desired by the preachers, and also by many of the people, that Mr. Levings should again be returned to the district. To this, however, he had insuperable objections, founded not upon considerations of personal expediency, but upon principle. This, combined with other circumstances, induced him to ask a transfer to the New-York Conference, which request was granted, and he was again appointed to New-York city, to labour in the Vestry-street charge. The cordial welcome he received on his first arrival, and the tokens of continued

affection from his people, were the source of peculiar satisfaction to him, and greatly encouraged him in his work.

At the General Conference of 1844, the Rev. E. S. Janes, who for several years had filled, with distinguished ability, the office of Financial Secretary of the American Bible Society, was elected a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the June following, Dr. Levings was elected to the office made vacant by Mr. Janes' resignation. The church with whom he had been labouring but one year being strongly attached to him, and quite unwilling to give him up, he was continued in the charge another year. He had, therefore, during the year to perform, as best he could, the duties both of his pastoral work and his secretaryship. It was a year of great labour. A man of less activity and endurance, or of less flexible mind, would have found himself inadequate to the task. In addition to his home labours, he visited, during the year, four or five annual conferences, presenting before them the claims of the Bible cause; and delivered over thirty Bible addresses before various societies in different parts of the country. Notwithstanding these extra efforts, he continued to labour with great acceptability and success in his pastoral charge. And when the term of his service closed in Vestry-street, he made a grateful record of God's mercy in sustaining him, and in giving him favour among the people, and success in his ministry.

Being now released from his charge, he devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office, and to the interests of the American Bible Society. Of his travels and labours for three succeeding years we have no authentic and definite account, aside from the minute of the places, times, and subjects of his discourses. No entry was made in his diary subsequently to the closing of his pastoral relation with the Vestry-street people. It is, however, generally known that he devoted himself with unceasing assiduity to promote the interests of the Bible cause. He performed long and toilsome journeys, visiting almost every section of the country, and presenting the claims of the society before ecclesiastical bodies, and addressing numerous local auxiliaries. At the same time also a burden of correspondence, relating to local agencies and the financial operations of the society, rested upon him.

During the fall of 1847, while on an extensive tour through the western and south-western States, he contracted a dysentery from the use of the water on the western rivers. He reached home very much enfeebled in health, and for two or three months was unable to resume his labours. Indeed, for the most of that time he was confined to his house and bed; and, during some part of it, it was

doubtful whether he would ever be restored again to health. God, however, graciously raised him up; and he was again permitted to go forth to labour in his Master's vineyard. During this sickness, the writer of this sketch repeatedly visited him. The seasons of conversation and of prayer enjoyed at this time will long be remembered. He possessed the same buoyancy of spirit and sprightliness that ever characterized him; nor had his fund of amusing and instructive anecdote failed. He was indeed *himself*; but he exhibited a maturity of faith and a depth of piety that seemed to augur a speedy termination of his earthly pilgrimage. His constitution never recovered fully its former vigour; but he was able still to discharge the duties of his office with efficiency through the spring and summer of 1848.

In the fall of that year the interests of the Bible Society demanded of him another tour through the south-western States. He left home with much reluctance, and under great depression of spirits, having, and expressing, a deep presentiment of evil. Yet with his usual vigour he prosecuted his work; during the months of October and November he travelled nearly four thousand miles, visiting the Tennessee, Memphis, and Mississippi Conferences, preaching eighteen sermons, and delivering nine addresses. He was subject to much inconvenience on some parts of his route, owing to the rainy weather and the bad condition of the roads. On one route he spent three days and three nights in a stage, travelling over roads almost impassable. The last night two of the wheels sunk up to the hub in the mire, and the coach was nearly overturned. There were nine grown persons and two children inside, who were obliged to get out and stand upon the ground, while the rain was pouring down upon them, till the driver had unharnessed one of the horses and rode half a mile to obtain a gang of negroes to pry up the carriage. This occupied nearly two hours. Under such exposures his health began to fail during the latter part of November. But he persevered in his mission till the 24th of December, when he preached in the Presbyterian church in Natchez. This was his last public discourse.

On the succeeding day he wrote a letter to his family in New-York. This letter is full of tenderness and affection. He tells them that he felt it would be wrong longer to withhold from them the fact that he was in a very feeble state of health. In addition to other diseases which had hung about him, he had been subject to several severe attacks of asthma, involving sympathetically, if not organically, the action of the heart. His nightly rest was broken and disturbed, and he was reduced to a great degree of bodily weakness. He had purposed visiting the Louisiana Conference, but his health

would permit him to proceed no farther. He now only thought of reaching his home, and had many misgivings whether he should ever accomplish that. The most expeditious and safe route homeward was by the way of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers; and even this route was not at this time without its difficulties. The cholera was raging in New-Orleans with great violence, and every boat that came up numbered a catalogue of victims on the passage. Those who died by day were secretly carried on shore in the night, and roughly entombed in the bank of the river. Nor could the sick and dying expect much attention or care; and, indeed, the cold and damp state-rooms of the boats furnished but poor accommodations for the sick in any case.

With him, however, there seemed no alternative; and on the 29th of December he took passage on the steamboat *Memphis* for Cincinnati. The boat was six days on her passage; she was crowded with passengers, and many were sick and dying with the cholera. His sufferings on the voyage were greatly alleviated, and his mind comforted, by the kind attentions of a Christian brother, Mr. Elisha Payne, of Madison, Indiana. He also received medical advice and assistance from a Dr. Sale, who happened to be a passenger on the boat. It was indeed a gloomy passage, and he frequently expressed the apprehension that he would never live to reach his home. This was an object dear to his heart; and his highest earthly wish seemed to be that he might die in the bosom of his family. However, he was calm and resigned; and, for the most part, retained his accustomed cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirit.

At length he reached Cincinnati; and, at the house of his devoted friends, brother and sister Burton, he found a welcome home. Ten years before, he had been their pastor in the east; he had united them in the sacred bonds of matrimony; he had been their friend and counsellor in times of affliction and trial. Their hearts, as well as their house, were now open to receive him. Like ministering angels they hovered around him in his last earthly affliction. Sweet and yet mournful was the task of our brother and sister; they performed the last sad offices due to departing worth; they ministered to his last earthly want, listened with inexpressible sorrow to his last farewell, closed his dying eyes, and forsook him not till his dust had been gathered to its kindred dust. O, there are green spots upon our earth, where human affection and sympathy shine forth with heavenly lustre! Priceless is their value! It is grateful to record them. The Rev. Mr. Strickland, one of the agents of the American Bible Society, was also with him night and day; and a numerous circle of friends rejoiced in the opportunity to minister to him in his affliction.

His sufferings were great, but in the midst of them all he enjoyed perfect peace; and signal was his triumph, through grace, in the last conflict. When he found that the great object of earthly desire—to see his family once more in the flesh and to die among his kindred—could not be realized, he only exclaimed, “The will of the Lord be done.” On the Sabbath evening preceding his death, being asked if he realized strong faith in Christ, he replied, “O yes, the Lord Jesus Christ is the strength of my heart, and my portion forever. I die in the faith of the gospel.” On one occasion, when he was sitting up, brother Burton placed a large Bible to support his head, that he might breathe more easily. Observing the letters upon the back, he exclaimed, “Thou blessed book, lamp to my feet and light to my path; thou guide of my youth, directory of my manhood, and support of my declining years; how cheerless would this world be, were it not for thy divine revelations and Christian experience!” After his will had been signed, he said, “Thank God, one foot is in Jordan, and I shall soon cross over.” When Bishop Morris reached the city, and hastened to the bedside of his dying friend, he said to him, “Thank God that I am permitted to see your face once more. I am not able to converse much, but I can still say, ‘Glory to God.’” The bishop inquired if he had any message to send to his brethren of the New-York Conference. “Tell them,” said he, “I die in Christ; I die in the hope of the gospel. Tell them I have a firm, unshaken confidence in the atoning sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the foundation, and *only foundation*, of my hope of eternal life; and, relying upon that foundation, all before me is light, and joyful, and glorious.” In him was most gloriously realized the sentiment of the great apostle,—*To live is Christ, but to die is gain*. With a firm faith in his Redeemer, and an unclouded view of heaven, he passed in peace and triumph to his everlasting reward. The last words he uttered were on the occasion of Mr. Burton’s children being presented to receive his dying blessing. Taking each by the hand, he said, “God bless the dear children, and make them holy.”

Between nine and ten o’clock on the evening of the 9th of January, surrounded by sympathizing, praying Christian friends, he expired. On the following Thursday his funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, embracing many of the clergy in Cincinnati and its vicinity. And, after an impressive sermon by Bishop Morris, his remains were deposited in the city cemetery; but subsequently removed to the Wesleyan Cemetery, where the Young Men’s Bible Society of Cincinnati propose to erect a suitable monument to his memory. Subsequently, a funeral discourse was delivered by Bishop Morris before the New-York Conference, and was requested

for publication by that body. The preachers' meetings in Cincinnati and New-York, the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Bible Society of Cincinnati, and also that of the American Bible Society, and various other associations, passed resolutions expressive of their high estimate of his character and worth.

Few men have been more generally beloved within the sphere of their labours, and few have been more sincerely lamented in their death, than Dr. Levings. His manner was affable and winning; his heart was warm and generous; his mind, naturally fertile and lively, and stored with an inexhaustible fund of anecdote, coupled with a retentive and ready memory, a brilliant imagination, a striking aptness at comparison, and fine colloquial powers, made him a most delightful companion in social life. If these peculiarities of character, strongly marked in him, sometimes made him appear more light and jocose than was befitting the ministerial office, and especially to age and superior standing in it, there were at least redeeming considerations to be found in the artlessness and sincerity of his piety, and the sacred veneration in which he ever held divine things. He was an almost universal favourite among his brethren in the ministry. And few ministers have left behind them, in the congregations where they have ministered, a larger number of strongly attached personal friends.

The cast of his mind, it would be inferred from what has already been said, was not that which grapples with profound truths and evolves mighty thoughts; but rather that which would take the popular and practical view of things. His reasonings generally were of this tone and character; and yet his sermons were well digested, and presented clear and forcible exhibitions of divine truth. His performances were almost exclusively extemporaneous; he rarely committed more than a very brief skeleton to paper. His mind, however, was a storehouse of facts and illustrations, and also clear in its perceptions, and tenacious in its retention of truth. His tongue was like the "pen of a ready writer;" and he was never at a loss for appropriate language in which to give utterance to his thoughts. He combined, in an unusual degree, close argumentation with apt and striking illustration and an animated and attractive delivery. His personal appearance was such as would naturally make a very good impression; his manner was self-possessed, the intonations of his voice well managed, and his gesture easy and appropriate. His preaching exhibited none of those overwhelming strokes of eloquence which mark the oratory of some distinguished men; but, when his energies were aroused and called into action, his discourses everywhere sparkled with the richest gems. Indeed,

few could hear him at any time without being pleased, instructed, and even powerfully impressed. But the highest honour placed upon his ministry was the eminent success with which God crowned it, in making him the instrument of turning multitudes from darkness to light, and from the power of sin to the service of God.

Such was the man whose history and character are but inadequately sketched in this paper. He has now ceased from his labours and gone to his reward. Multitudes had been blessed by his ministry; some of whom—dear in his memory—had before him entered into rest. Did they not welcome him to the partnership of their joys on high? He has gone to rejoin them, gone to behold again the loved Martha Ann,—“child of his heart,”—whose sweet spirit passed away with the summer flowers of 1840. He died as the Christian minister might wish to die, mature in the graces of the spirit, fresh from the battle-fields of the cross. Those who had been blessed by his ministry accompanied him with prayers and tears down to the brink of Jordan; those who had gone before, joyfully welcomed him over. Thus, in the maturity of his strength and in the height of his usefulness, a brother has been called away, a standard-bearer in Israel has fallen.

He was licensed to preach on the 20th day of Dec., 1817, and died on the 9th of Jan., 1849; consequently, he sustained the ministerial office a little more than thirty years. During that time he officiated in eighteen different appointments; preached nearly four thousand sermons; dedicated thirty-eight churches; delivered sixty-five miscellaneous addresses; and, finally, travelled 36,539 miles, and delivered two hundred and seventy-three addresses in behalf of the American Bible Society. But the best of all was, his life and ministry were crowned with the divine blessings, and his dying moments with the divine glory.

“Servant of God, well done!
Thy glorious warfare's past;
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crown'd at last.”

ART. II.—THE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN THE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD, A PROOF OF ITS DIVINE
ORIGIN.

II.—PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN JUDAISM.

§ 9.—*The Old Testament Dispensation.*

HAVING considered the nature and influence of the Polytheistic religions, we enter the sanctuary of Monotheism, and direct our attention from Greece, and its deification of human nature, to the temple dedicated to the service of the only true God. Paganism has displayed to us the efforts of humanity, spiritually awakened, indeed, but unenlightened by Divine revelation, striving to satisfy its religious wants by means of simple nature, until, compelled to distrust its own energies, it yearned after the introduction of some higher power. We now contemplate an entirely different dispensation, in which God condescends, by word and act, to reveal himself to a chosen people, and approaches continually nearer to a union with human nature, until he actually "becomes flesh." Israel stands encircled by the idolatrous nations of heathendom, like an oasis in the desert. Its history, from beginning to end, is one continuous miracle. And the Jews were chosen to be the recipients of Divine grace, not because they were naturally more righteous than their neighbours, for, as Moses and the prophets abundantly testify, they were a people stiff-necked and obstinate, disobedient and unthankful. To God belongs the glory, who, in infinite compassion, selected this nation to bear and represent his will.

The Jewish religion differs essentially from Pagan systems in three respects:—1. Judaism rests upon a *direct* and *positive* revelation from heaven; whereas Paganism is the product of purely natural energies. 2. Judaism is characterized by strict *Monotheism*; Paganism by Polytheism. 3. Judaism is marked by a decided *moral* character throughout, which imperatively demands that every action shall be performed for God's glory, and that the entire nature of man shall be sanctified; while Heathenism is more a religion of taste, and partly stamped even with a decidedly immoral tendency. To preserve these peculiarities unmixed by Pagan elements, it was absolutely necessary that the Jews, constitutionally inclined to idolatry, should be excluded from all intercourse with neighbouring nations. The nation was at first comprehended in a single individual—Abraham, the friend of God, and the father of the faithful. From his loins sprang the patriarchs, who were cha-

racterized by child-like piety and unwavering confidence in God. Through Moses was established afterwards the Theocracy, and this again received, through the prophets, as it were, a personified consciousness.

The Jews were not destined to unfold the idea of the Beautiful, as the Greeks; nor of Law, as the Romans. Their laurels were not to be gathered in the fields of science, of art, or of government. Yet, as regards sacred poetry, the Psalms are, for sublimity, depth, and spiritual beauty, infinitely superior to the most classic creations of Greece. The vocation of the Jews was to cultivate the idea of *repentance* and the *fear of God*. On this account John the Baptist, who was the personal representative of the Old Testament, commenced his mission with the startling language, "Repent." In order to excite a longing after true inward peace, they were to experience the miseries of life, the destructive power of sin, and the inflexible demands of Divine justice. To secure these purposes, the ten commandments, divinely sanctioned and authorized, which placed in clearer light the moral obligations of man, and imparted strength to the decisions of conscience, were communicated through Moses for their guidance and direction. Having this ideal of holiness continually before their eyes, and commanded to conform their lives to its precepts, they were gradually brought to a consciousness of the terrible disharmony sin had caused in their nature, and of their utter inability to fulfil the rigid demands of law. The law led them to an experimental knowledge of sin, removed the supports of self-righteousness, and excited intense aspirations after a Deliverer who should rescue them from its curse by satisfying its claims. Thus, as Paul says, the *law* was "a school-master to Christ."

But as the law, in itself considered, was adapted to plunge the awakened sinner into hopeless despair, Jehovah graciously condescended to mitigate its terrors by inspiring the penitent with *hope* by the voice of *prophecy*, which promised deliverance. This prophetic element, entering largely into the constitution of Judaism, constituted its *second* characteristic, as a preparatory process for the introduction of Christianity. In this respect it may be called the religion of the *future*, or the religion of *hope*. Nor did the subjects of the Old Testament dispensation remain satisfied with their position; regarding it as temporary, and destined to pass away, when the fulness of time had come, they humbly and patiently relied upon the promises of Jehovah, whose words had ever been as pure gold seven times tried. Properly speaking, prophecy is older than the law, which came in between, (*παρεισήλθεν*, as St. Paul says;) for it proclaimed its presence immediately after the fall, in the (so-called)

Protevangelium of the serpent and its destroyer; during the patriarchal period it was the predominant element; from the time of Samuel it became the ruling power in the Jewish government. It may be termed the Protestant element in the Jewish theocracy. It accompanied the Israelites in all their wanderings, from their captivity in Babylon to the rebuilding of the temple, proclaiming the judgments of God as well as his pardoning grace, and finally concluding its work by pointing to the coming Messiah as the Saviour of men. At first, the power of prophecy was enjoyed only by the nobles among the people, particularly by the regular prophetic order. In the course of time, however, it was confined to a single individual, who was to combine the three-fold office of prophet, priest, and king. But as the character of the Messiah was described in figures drawn from the theocracy, which were temporally fulfilled even under the Old Testament Dispensation, (so that it, as a whole, became one grand type of his coming,) the people might be disposed to remain content with this partial fulfilment. Severe calamities and oft-repeated sufferings, however, served to reveal the insufficiency of these partial fulfilments, and to direct the people to the future. While the Messianic kingdom was represented as a restoration of the theocracy, the most profound prophets (such as Isaiah, who possessed this power in its highest form) announced to the people that sufferings, and an earnest longing after its appearance, were the necessary conditions of its establishment. As the true *Paschal Lamb*, the Messiah would save his people from their sins, not only temporarily, but permanently, and reconcile them, once for all, to their offended Lawgiver.

With the death of Malachi, the prophetic element vanished, and Israel was left to its own resources for four hundred years. Finally, however, immediately before the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies, the spirit of the Old Testament reappeared in the person of an individual who was pronounced by Christ himself the greatest born of woman. John the Baptist was the living representative of the law; his convincing sermons, his abode in the wilderness, and his ascetic mode of life, loudly proclaimed the necessity of repentance. He was, at the same time, the representative of the Messianic prophecies, for he pointed his followers to the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." Around this divinely commissioned servant of Jehovah were gathered the most susceptible spirits of the rising generation, among whom were some of the Apostles. The disciples of John, who, like Nathanael, were longing for salvation—those souls which silently, but earnestly, awaited the appearance of the promised Messiah, as old Simeon, Anna the prophetess,

the mother of our Lord, her relations and acquaintances, and the lovely group at Bethany, with whom Christ lived in familiar intercourse—characters like these must be regarded as the true representatives of the Old Testament in its relation to the Christian dispensation; who, by transcending the carnal notions of the vast multitude, lived in hope, and at last actually saw the end of their hope realized.

§ 10.—*Political State of the Jews at Christ's Birth.*

Let us now turn our attention to the *political* condition of the Jews at the time of Christ's birth. The reign of the Maccabees, who united the priestly and kingly functions, and extended the bounds of Judea by the conquest of Samaria and Idumea, was of short duration. Palestine, as well as the entire civilized world, was compelled to do homage to the invincible power of Rome. After the battle at Philippi, 42 A. C., the East fell into the hands of Mark Antony, who, with Octavius and Lepidus, constituted the second Triumvirate. He conferred upon Herod the crown of Palestine, which was reduced to a Roman province, 39 A. C.; and after the battle at Actium, when Octavius became sole emperor, his authority was confirmed and established. Herod was of Idumean descent, the son of Antipater, who was characterized by acuteness and energy, by ambition, and a devoted attachment to heathenism. With his accession to the throne, the Maccabee family, which had been preparing its own destruction by internal dissensions, was finally extinguished. Its last support having been removed, Israel was subjected to the heathen influence of the Roman government, and hastened to meet its doom. Herod himself entertained no affection for his subjects, but endeavoured in every possible way to crush the institutions of the Jews, and establish the religious ceremonies of Rome. His tyrannical conduct excited rebellions, particularly among the Pharisees, who obstinately adhered to the old Jewish customs, and resolutely opposed the encroachments of the king. Nor could he in after years atone for his opposition by promising to rebuild, in greater splendour, the temple on Mount Moriah. His reign, thus embittered by the alienation of his subjects, was rendered more intolerable by the murder of his beautiful wife, Mariamne, a descendant of the Maccabee family. His guilty conscience, goaded to madness by this enormous crime, drove him to despair, and he died of a loathsome disease one year before our era.* When we consider his determined hostility to the Jews, his

* But, as it is vitiated by a mistake of five years, about 3 A.D.

inordinate ambition and love of power, and the revolutionary character of the age, we need not be amazed that Herod should have proclaimed a decree, ordering the murder of the children in Bethlehem, after having heard of the birth of a royal son from the loins of David. After his death, his kingdom was partitioned among his three sons. Archelaus obtained Judea, Idumea, and Samaria; Philip, Batanea, Iturea, and Trachonitis; Herod Antipas, (mentioned Luke iii, 1,) Galilee and Peræa. Archelaus, however, was dethroned 6 A. D., and his inheritance converted into a Roman province. Judea, Idumea, and Samaria were governed by procurators, subject to the personal supervision of the prefect of Syria. Pontius Pilate, who lived 28-37 A. D., was the fifth procurator. Philip, the second son, having died A. D. 34, his kingdom fell into the hands of Herod Agrippa, 37 A. D., who, during the reign of Claudius, A. D. 41, was proclaimed king of all Palestine, Herod Antipas having been banished 39 A. D. This Herod Antipas is mentioned in the Acts as a violent persecutor of the Christian religion. After his death, however, A. D. 44, his kingdom was again converted into a Roman province, and governed by procurators, of whom the Scriptures mention two, Claudius Felix and Portius Festus. Of these, Gessius Florus was the last, under whom was accomplished the long-predicted destruction of the Jewish nationality, A. D. 70.

While their tyrannical masters endeavoured to crush them with a merciless opposition, the Jews resolutely maintained their distinct character, at least in a traditional way. Their obstinate rebellions against constituted authority only multiplied their miseries; their attempts to obtain independence plunged them deeper into slavery. Longing after deliverance, those Jews who still cultivated the spirit of the Old Testament, would welcome Christianity as the end of their hopes; while the stiff-necked slaves of tradition, who rejected the Word made flesh, and perverted the meaning of the Bible, would be hurried on to just condemnation. Even Josephus, himself a Jew, describing the destruction of Jerusalem, says that, "If the Romans had not extinguished the national independence of the Jews, he believed some terrible earthquake, or sweeping deluge, or lightning, would have destroyed them, on account of their unparalleled wickedness." At this period of the world's history, when the earth seemed to labour under the weight of its own corruptions, and men were bound in the iron bands of slavery; when the chosen people of God were ridiculed and despised, and the royal house of David was stripped of its glory, and clothed in the tattered garments of poverty,—at *this* period appeared the Son of God, the promised Messiah, in the form of a servant, yet filled with divine glory. In Him was revealed true

freedom, which spurns the embrace of sin, while it cultivates the graces of the Spirit. He was the Light of the World.

§ 11.—*Religious Condition of the Jews at the time of Christ's Birth.*

Nor do the *morality* and *theology* of the Jews present a more attractive spectacle. Freedom of thought was prevented by a slavish adherence to the letter of the Bible, whilst its spirit escaped; and by an implicit faith in ceremonies and traditions. The Messianic prophecies were totally perverted into the sphere of sense and flesh. The Messiah, according to these interpretations, was to be made subservient to base passions, as a mighty king, whose business it was to rescue the Jews from the yoke of Roman bondage, to rule the hated heathen with a rod of iron, and to establish a magnificent theocracy, which should conquer the entire world. At the time of Christ's birth, Jewish theology and religion were represented by three distinct parties,—the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.

1. *The Pharisees*, called the separated, (from פָּרָשִׁי, because of their pretensions to uncommon piety,) were characterized by strict fidelity in the discharge of prescribed ceremonies, and by self-righteousness based upon this simply external performance. By the deeds of the law, by fasting, by making long prayers, by almsgiving, by purifications, &c., they believed they could obtain the rewards of true piety. Our Saviour speaks of them, (Matt. ii, 3,) as "blind leaders of the blind, straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel." Their system of thought was corrupted by admixtures of Persian elements which they had imbibed during the captivity. These they endeavoured to apply to the Old Testament, by means of allegorical interpretations, and of the Rabbinical traditions, which were for the most part directly opposed to the Scriptures. The people regarded them as the only authorized expounders of the Scriptures, and as the leaders of the hierarchy. In the New Testament they appear as the most malignant and determined enemies of our Lord. Yet we must not condemn them all alike, as hypocrites and ambitious men; for there were those who, like Nicodemus, secretly sympathized with the doctrines of Christianity. Many, no doubt, like Paul, who was a bigoted Pharisee, and his teacher, Gamaliel, who was a noble and earnest-minded man, in endeavouring to secure righteousness of life, experienced in person the bitter pangs of conscious sin, and the terrible effects of the law, as described in Romans vii. Having been thus led to despair of salvation in themselves, some even accepted of Christ. (John iii, 1; Acts xv, 5.) The conversion of such Jews to Christianity, may be conceived of in a twofold way. Either, like the Apostle Paul, discarding all self-righteousness, they would contend

as earnestly for justification by faith as before for justification by works; or, unable to unbind from their consciences the fetters of the law, they would transfer over into the Christian element a legal spirit, and thus check the free growth of the Christian principle. Persons of this latter class could not sympathize with the broad views of Paul, who abolished the law altogether as the ground of acceptance with God. We find, accordingly, that during the apostolic period, they rebelled against his doctrines. The Church, in all ages, has been distracted by Pharisees, who may have been baptized by water, but were never introduced into the mysteries of the gospel by the baptism of fire.

2. In direct opposition to the Pharisees stood the *Sadducees*, who, as a sect, were not so numerous. Some derive their name from their supposed leader, Sadoc; others from צַדִּיק, righteous. They boldly rejected the authority of tradition, and recognized the ten commandments as the only rule of faith. It cannot be determined with absolute certainty whether they denied the authenticity of the Old Testament, Pentateuch excepted; but it is very improbable,—from the simple fact that they participated in the exercises of the Sanhedrim, (Acts xxiii, 6 ff.,) and performed, sometimes, the functions of the high-priest. It is certain, however, that they denied the existence of the soul after death, and the doctrine of immortality. Concerning the freedom of the will they were Pelagianistic, and were, in general, inclined to rationalism, skepticism, and infidelity. They may be compared to the Epicureans of Greece and Rome, while the Pharisees resembled the Stoics. Josephus informs us that they were disliked by the common people, but were esteemed by the rich, the proud, and the worldly minded. We must not be surprised, therefore, to find that they and their mortal enemies, the Pharisees, forgot their enmity in mutual opposition to the gospel, and waged a common crusade against the Christian religion. Sadduceeism, which tended to crush the aspirations of the moral sense, could see nothing attractive in the person of Christ.

3. The calamities which threatened the Jews, and the party dissensions which distracted them, occasioned the rise of a third sect, the *Essenes*, (from the Chaldaic אֲסִי, physician for body and for soul.) The New Testament makes no mention of them; Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, have recorded their history. They may be regarded as Jewish monks, with a practico-mystical tendency, including some theosophic and speculative elements derived from the Platonic philosophy, or, more probably, from some Oriental systems, particularly the Persian. This order was composed of contemplative spirits, who, weary of the commotions that agitated the age, retired

from its tumults to the coasts of the Dead Sea. They were divided into four classes; marriage was permitted only to one class; the oath was abolished, except in the case of those who were introduced into the order after the regular probation period. The virtues they cultivated were, industry, charity, hospitality, and fidelity. They drew their support from a common treasury, which was replenished by common labour, enforced a rigid observance of the Sabbath, and were accustomed to send presents to the temple at Jerusalem, but never entered it to worship. In their social intercourse they observed a certain secrecy, avoided all communication with the uncircumcised, preferring to die rather than partake of food which was not prepared by them or their brethren. As is often the case with sects inclined to mysticism, so here we find an intense degree of religious feeling combined with superstition, a spiritual worship with strict adherence to ceremonial rites, self-denial with refined pride. Considered in their relation to Christianity, the Essenes could find a congenial element in the mystery that enshrouded it; or, on account of the exclusive sanctity they attributed to their order, might oppose such sentiments as are advanced in the sermon on the Mount, which pronounced the poor in spirit happy. If ever induced to accept the gospel, they might carry with them their ascetic practices, and prepare the way for the rise of other sects of the same character. Traces of their influence are, in fact, clearly discernible in the Epistle to the Colossians, and in the pastoral letters of Paul.

III.—RELATION BETWEEN HEATHENISM AND JUDAISM.

§ 12.—*Influence of Judaism upon Heathenism.*

As Christianity, by virtue of its universal and absolute character, overthrew the partition walls which had for centuries isolated the different nations, and revealed the idea that mankind, however divided, composed but a single family, we must perceive, in the reciprocal influence exerted by Judaism and Heathenism, a preparation for the introduction of Christianity. With the Babylonish captivity, the Jews were scattered over the then world. Only a small minority availed themselves of Cyrus's permission to return to Jerusalem. Some remained in Babylon, others migrated to other lands. Half the population of Alexandria, before the birth of Christ, were Jews, who had enriched themselves by mercantile and other occupations. They were dispersed over Asia Minor and Greece. In Rome they possessed the greatest part of Trastevere, and obtained permission from Julius Cæsar to build synagogues, and other important privileges. All these Jews, (commonly called the *διασπορά*.)

though absent from Palestine, still regarded Jerusalem as their proper home, and sent annual presents of gold and silver to the temple, which they visited at the great festivals. Though heartily hated by the heathen, their religion, on account of the religious instability of the age, and the decline of the mythological systems, exerted considerable influence. For the Pharisees were characterized by a strong proselyting spirit, and the numerous jugglers who traversed the country, often wrought powerfully upon the minds of the Pagans. This influence could not have been unimportant, and the Romans were wont to complain of it, as their writings abundantly testify.

But we must not confound the full proselytes with the partial. The former were called proselytes of *righteousness*, גֵּרֵי-הַצְּדִקָּה, who subscribed to circumcision and the entire ceremonial law. Proselytes of this class were even more fanatical than the Jews, and waged a bitter warfare against Christ. On this account our Saviour remarked, that they were made ten times more the sons of hell by the Pharisees; and Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Tryphon, the Jew,—“Not only do they persecute us, and refuse to believe, but even venture to blaspheme the Son of God, and striving to become like you in every respect, they attempt to murder those who do believe in Him.” The second class, with which many women were connected, were called proselytes of *the gate*, גֵּרֵי הַשַּׁעַר, or, as in the New Testament, the φοβούμενοι, σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν. These received the doctrine of Monotheism, of the atonement, of the government of the world, and, in some cases, of the Messiah, and generally abstained from gross crimes. Of this class were men like Cornelius, who were earnestly seeking after the truth, and who, when the gospel was revealed, gladly accepted its offers.

§ 13.—*Influence of Heathenism upon Judaism.*

But, on the other hand, Paganism was not without influence over Judaism, especially in Alexandria. Here sprang up, in the midst of intelligent Jews, a peculiar admixture of Old Testament theology and Platonic philosophy. The representative of this tendency is the learned historian *Philo*, who died 40 or 50 A. D. He believed in the divine origin of the Old Testament, entertained a very strict idea of its inspiration, and regarded the moral law and temple service as indestructible. But he endeavoured to unite heathenism and Judaism, by applying to the Scriptures a literal and an allegorical interpretation, and, in this way, thought himself justified in affirming that the divine Plato extracted his best ideas from the Bible. This method of interpretation, however, was followed by injurious conse-

quences, for it paved the way for the introduction of ideas which the Scriptures, properly understood, never sanctioned, and inculcated contempt for the letter of the Bible. Its influence is felt even in our age, for it cannot be denied that the mythical view of the gospel narratives, which regards the facts recorded as the fruit simply of a productive imagination, bears a striking resemblance to it. But Philo, as well as Origen, strenuously insisted on the historical reality of the facts of the Old Testament, and admitted that the literal interpretation was best adapted to promote the religious interests of the common people. Yet, according to his notions, the allegorical mode was preferable, which, penetrating the shell of the word, grasped, in the exercise of speculation, its hidden mystery, which abstracted from God all human qualities, and presented him to the mind in his simple essence. In this way he revived, under a Christian form, the old heathen distinction between a religion designed for the people, and a religion for the enlightened.

This system of Philo was reduced to practice by the Therapeutæ, or "servants of God," (*θεραπεύειν*.) Like the Essenes, to whom they bore a striking similarity, (though we can trace no historical connexion between them,) they must be regarded as Jewish monks. Not far from Alexandria, by the Lake Mœris, they dwelt in tents, (*σεννῆα, μοναστήρια*,) and passed their time in contemplating heavenly things, and in practising asceticism. In interpreting the Bible they followed the allegorical method. They fasted sometimes for six days, and their ordinary food was bread and water. On each Sabbath-day, which was observed with peculiar sanctity, they partook of a love-feast on bread mixed with salt and hyssop, sung ancient hymns, and performed mystic dances, in commemoration of the passage of their fathers over the Red Sea, that is, according to their allegorical exegesis, of the deliverance of the spirit from the fetters of sense. The characteristic doctrine of this sect was, that sin was something simply negative, having its seat in the body as such, and that the body, on this account, was the prison-house of the soul. Thus the highest good consisted in the mortification of the flesh. Death by self-denial was the birth into happiness and glory. In their relation to Christianity, they occupy a similar position with the Essenes.

§ 14.—Conclusion.

From this entire representation it is very clear that, at the time of Christ's birth, old institutions were fast decaying, and that the spirit of heathenism, exhausted by its own action, was about to vanish, proving conclusively the absolute necessity for the introduc-

tion of a new life to rescue the world from destruction. On the one hand we discover, among the people, a dreary infidelity, which rejected the old systems of faith without substituting any in their stead; on the other, a blind superstition, which obstinately adhered to the decaying mythological belief, and rendered it still more ridiculous by fantastic extravagances. It is very often the case that infidelity and superstition are found combined, because man is compelled by the necessities of his life to believe *something*. If he does not believe in God, he will be tormented by an uncomfortable faith in ghosts. Augustus Cæsar, who patronized the religion of Rome through policy, was terrified when he happened to draw his boot first on the left foot instead of the right. The skeptic Pliny wore amulets for protection against thunder and lightning.

The best feature of this age was that intense longing of the soul, which fled from the miseries of life, and, distrusting its own resources, sought deliverance in some power beyond itself. Messianic hopes were scattered over the whole world by means of political intercourse amongst the different nations. Like the first red streaks along the horizon which foretell the dawn, so these aspirations were the harbingers of the coming Messiah. The Persians awaited the coming of Sosiosh, who would destroy the kingdom of Ahriman, and break the power of darkness; the Chinese Confucius pointed his followers to the Holy One who should appear in the West, whilst the West directed its eyes to the East. Suetonius and Tacitus speak of an opinion then universally prevalent among the Romans, that in the East a new kingdom was to be established.

Precisely *then*, when the world was unsettled and dissatisfied with existing relations, appeared the Messiah, in an obscure and despised corner of the earth. With his crucified hands, he lifted the world out of its degradation; with his own life, he filled it with fresh energy. His salvation was a savour of death to those who, clothed in a mantle of licentiousness, could not appreciate his beauty; but, to the susceptible and morally inclined, a savour of life. Truly, as well as beautifully, says Augustine: "Christ appeared to the men of a world fast decaying, when the objects of their former love had become sources of disgust, that they might draw from the fountain of life fresh and renewed energies." With the words, "Repent and believe," was concluded the Iliad of history, and now commenced its Odyssey. As Ulysses, after having endured the hardships of the Trojan war, returned in safety to the bosom of his beloved Penelope, so the old world, after having exhausted its energies in trying to satisfy its wants, was led to Christ to renew its youth. Rome prolonged its wasting life for some years after the introduction of Christi-

anity, but was at last compelled to submit its boasted wisdom to the foolishness of the cross, and thereby cease to be old Rome. Judaism, too, which, refusing to acknowledge its proper object, waged a deadly warfare against Christ and his apostles, wanders to this day, like a houseless spectre, through the places of the earth, and furnishes an invincible argument for the divine origin of Christianity, which, by its own efficacy, has conquered the world, imparted a new complexion to every department of science, occasioned and ruled the rise and progress of every great world-historical movement, and showered upon man the richest and choicest spiritual blessings.

ART. III.—LAMARTINE.

IN the year 1820, a young man, with a pale and melancholy countenance, and a step enfeebled by disease, "went timidly hawking about in Paris, from bookseller to bookseller, a poor little copy-book of verses, wet with tears. Everywhere they politely shifted off the poetry and the poet;" so says his friend, De Cormenin. In a work substantially made up of the incidents of his life, the young poet has himself drawn the picture of his forlorn predicament at this crisis of his history. His purse was nigh empty; he took his manuscript, his "last hope," to a noted bookseller, who received it with an ironical smile, and appointed him to return in a week: "My heart failed," he says, "on the eighth day;" the publisher gave him back his manuscript, and dashed his ambition without ceremony.—"I should advise you ill," said the book merchant, "if I induced you to publish this volume, and I should be doing you a sorry service in publishing it at my expense." "So saying, he rose, and gave me back my manuscript," says the poet. "I took up the volume, I went down stairs, my legs trembling beneath me, and my eyes moistened with tears. I returned to my room in despair. The child and the dog wondered, for the first time, at my sullen silence, and at the gloom that overspread my countenance."

Genius, however, need never "despair" in France. The child who had "wondered at the sullen silence and gloom" of the frustrated author, on his return from the book-mongers, had hardly advanced beyond the period of mature youth, when the abashed poet stood forth the most imposing and powerful personage in France, and the eyes of the world beheld what an English critic pronounces "the only instance in the world's history of a great nation calling a

poet to guide the helm of its affairs; or rather, of a poet contributing by the force of his genius to the overthrow of a powerful king, and seating himself, for a time at least, on his throne." During the four days of February, 1848, he was the ascendant genius, restraining the storm and compelling the mob at his will; and the trembling citizens of Paris felt that the voice of the poet was to them the voice of fate. Lamartine has fallen from power, but he can never fall from the historic sublimity, the apotheosis of his genius, which distinguished his connexion with the four days of February.

A very anomalous people are these Frenchmen, in both small and great things. Their Epicureanism has given science to our kitchens and French names to our dainties, though they content their stomachs with two meals per day; while their gruff neighbour, across the channel, affects to sneer at their gastronomic extravagance, and swallows his four meals daily, besides a lusty luncheon. Gay and even volatile beyond all other nations, they, at the same time, excel all others in the more difficult and abstract sciences, affording us many of our best improvements in mathematics and political economy, as well as in the more palpable details of chemistry and the natural sciences generally. Le Verrier, in the streets of Paris, would have been taken for a young scape-grace "about town," while his thoughts were beyond the circuit of the Georgium Sidus, compelling a new world to disclose itself. Gibbon pointed to the French as an exception, in his day, to that lesson of history which teaches that nations having attained the height of luxury and glory, as France had in the day of Louis XIV., must decline in national vigour and military spirit. But there is a still nobler anomaly in their national character. Dazzled by military glory, as children with gilded toys,—dandies in dress, and dandifying the rest of the world with their "modes,"—luxuriating at the table, and glorifying good cuisiniers,—this same people excel all other communities in the appreciation of genius and the remuneration of literary merit. In their earlier history the troubadours exhilarated their courts and inspired their battles. In the Voltairian era they crowned and worshipped their authors in the theatres, and soon afterwards upturned the nation and half of Europe at their voice. In our day they lift them, above the heads of abashed lawyers, disenthralled nobles, and cunning diplomats, into the chief seats of their synagogues of power. Thiers, Guizot, Cousin, De Tocqueville, Arago, De Cormenin, Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Flocon, Marrast, Lamennais, Leroux, and we know not how many other authors, of good or evil influence, are living examples of the power of genius over the popular and political sympathies of France.

Lamartine is unquestionably the most remarkable instance of this power in our day. It would be a difficult task to delineate him as man, author, or statesman. A unique character is usually more easily portrayed than one of merely average traits, for strong peculiarities are readily distinguishable; but Lamartine presents such contrasted characteristics, such strength and weakness, such oracular wisdom and drivelling sentimentality in thought, such terseness and excessive affectation in style, that both the flatterer and the satirist could draw pictures of him as respectively true as they would be mutually contradictory. We have sat down not to attempt a complete estimate of him,—the day has not come for that,—but to glance at his works, and a few other materials which lie on our table,* and gather from them some frank though cursory inferences respecting his character, and remarkable positions as author and statesman; and if we shall, by a somewhat easy mood, appear to bear in mind that we are writing for the dog-days, we hope that such a proof of considerate regard for the reader will not lead him to depreciate our attempts to do justice to our subject.

The personal history of Lamartine has been sketched in "*Galleries*" of "*Contemporains Illustres*," magazines, and the "*Feuillettons*" of journals, but with many obvious defects and contradictions. At our present writing, *Les Confidences* (his auto-biography,—if such it may be called) are in process of publication in a Paris journal, *La Presse*; but we have traced them only through the period of his youth. We may, therefore, however cautious, be liable to inaccuracy in some of our statements.

He was born on the 21st of October, 1792, in Maçon, on the Saône, near the Swiss boundary. Like most remarkable men, he was the child of a remarkable mother, the elements of whose character were reproduced in his own, with the superadded vigour of genius. The discerning reader has but to observe his touching and incessant references to his mother, in order to comprehend the moral and intellectual traits of the son. That deep and melancholy religious spirit, feminine sentimentalism, and loyalty to the convictions of duty, which distinguish his writings—distinguish them almost as anomalous amidst a nation of skeptics, libertines, and experimental levelers—are distinctly traceable to the maternal influence which formed and still imbues the soul of the poet. Some of the most felicitous pictures, which abound, in contrast with many sufficiently maudlin, in "*Raphael*" and in "*Les Confidences*," are drawn from the scenes

* Among these are *Œuvres de Lamartine*, 2 vols., 8vo. The Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 2 vols., 12mo. History of the Girondists, 3 vols., 12mo. *Raphael*, 18mo. *Les Confidences*. Three Months in Power, &c.

of his early home;—pictures in which his mother continually reappears with an almost angelic loveliness.

Lamartine's father was a cavalry officer under Louis XVI., and suffered much during the revolution. His loyalty to the Bourbons would not allow him to accept office under the Republic or the Empire. With a small income, and every avenue of fortune closed, he was compelled to sequester himself and his family on an obscure estate at Milly, where the early years of the poet were spent amidst the purest domestic tranquillity and piety.

He has given us in his "*Confidences*" a picture of the *ménage* at Milly—an exquisitely painted interior scene that Wilkie might have transferred to his canvass, had he lived to read it. The antique mansion, battered by revolutionary violence,—its furniture, its occupants, its occupations,—the charming evening readings from Tasso's Jerusalem, &c., are depicted with minute interest and beauty. We see the man self-explained in these descriptions of his early home. Its influences informed and still characterize his whole moral and intellectual being; its endeared reminiscences have followed him through life, and form some of the finest and most affecting allusions of his writings. Many of their brightest images are borrowed from the recollections of its early felicities; and their most touching pathos, from the separations and sorrows with which later years have passed over it. He says:—

"I carefully preserve its remains, and, although it is at present empty, cold, and deserted by all those delicious affections which once animated it, I like to look at it, I like again to sleep in it sometimes, as if places retained ever-present impressions of the past, as if I expected again to hear, on awaking from slumber, the voice of my mother, the footsteps of my father, the joyous cries of my sisters, and all that noise of youth, life, and love, which rings for me alone beneath the old rafters, and which only has me now to hear it and to perpetuate it a little while!"

Happy the child whose young and sensitive years have been spent in such scenes of tranquillity and beauty! he carries in his soul treasures of sentiment, images of endeared places and beloved beings, which sustain the affections of his heart, and refresh him through the arid deserts of life's later pilgrimage. "Such recollections," continues Lamartine, "enable us, by recalling in thought the waters of existence that have since flowed away, to envelop ourselves, so to speak, in that earth, in those trees, those plants, that were born with us; and make us wish that the universe had commenced and would end for us within the walls of that humble enclosure!"

He learned to read and write without the aid of tutors. The Bible, the works of Fénelon, Berquin, St. Pierre, and Madame de Genlis, were his first readings. But he says:—

"It was in my mother's soul especially that I sought for nurture. I read through her eyes, I felt through her feelings, I loved through her love. She translated everything for me,—without her aid I would not have known how to spell in the book of creation which was open before my eyes; but she directed my finger and placed it on everything. Her soul was so rich in brilliancy, colour, and warmth, that it illuminated and heated everything it approached. We were living a double life. It was thus that my heart formed itself within me on a model, at which it was not necessary that I should look, so completely was it commingled with my heart."

Her religious example produced, at this early period, a profound impression upon his mind. He describes her as passing through the world, not inhabiting it:—

"It may be said that she lived in God, as much as it is given to any human being to live in him. There was not a single side of her soul that was not constantly turned towards Him, that was not made transparent, bright, and warm by that radiant beam from above, which flows directly from God upon our thoughts, and which penetrates into us through the darkness of our souls, as the light of heaven shines through the crystal of our closed dwellings."

In his twelfth year he was sent to an educational establishment at Lyons, but the contrast between its severe and formal discipline and the charming *agrémens* of his home was insupportable. He endured several months of the boarding-school novitiate's usual "home-sickness," when, growing desperate, he one day threw his ball into the street, walked out as if to get it, and, when once out of his prison, sped with all haste for the country and home. He reached an inn, nine miles distant, but was there overtaken by the principal of the seminary, accompanied by a gendarme. Two months of imprisonment in a dungeon followed, but his obstinacy at last prevailed. His mother removed him to the college of the Jesuits at Belley, on the frontier of Savoy,—an event of preponderating influence on his subsequent life.

The tact of the Jesuits in the art of education has never been, and can scarcely be, exaggerated. Salutory results were not the criteria of their skill. They adhered strictly to two rules,—first, to educate the pupil specifically for the position to which he was destined; secondly, so to conduct his training as to render that position as available as possible to the Church. They never designed to educate the youth of Europe for intellectual independence or intellectual ascendancy. Their object was universal and utter subservience to the Church. Education could not be suppressed; it must therefore be assimilated to the ecclesiastical interests. Science, art, taste, the finest accomplishments must be taught, but amidst the subtlest, the most beguiling, the incessant influences of religion. Their methods were skilful, but in no respect more so than in their sagacious adaptation to produce thorough religionists. Was the pupil a fool? he

was made a devotee. Was he shrewd and clever? he was sent forth an ecclesiastical diplomatist or intriguer. Was he, like Lamartine, ingenuous and imaginative? he left their cloisters a religious sentimentalist. Familiarity or dignity, tenderness or rigour, were used with studied adaptation to the individual characters of their *élèves*. Voltaire, who was their pupil, and detested them, applauded their educational skill, and Lamartine joins in the eulogy.

The holy fathers at Belley comprehended immediately their new student. He brought with him, from his residence at Lyons, strong repugnances to teachers, and at first manifested them freely; but the skilful Jesuits soon conquered him by their affability, and then bound him in a spell of religious feeling, which they perceived to be the strongest susceptibility of his imaginative mind. He has since well repaid their skill in his writings. In his *Jocelyn*, especially, he has depicted the impressions and given expression to the devout enthusiasm of his life in the cloister of Belley.

The effect of his training there was profound; he became fervently devout at a time of life when religion, though most needed, is usually least heeded, especially in France. In his *Confidences* he speaks with enthusiasm of this part of his history:—

“Were I to live a thousand years, I would never forget certain hours of the evening, when, escaping during the recreation of the students in the courtyard, I used to enter, through a small private door, the church already filled with night’s shadows, and hardly lighted at the back of the choir by the lamp which hung in the sanctuary, I would hide myself in the still thicker gloom cast upon the pavement by one of the pillars, wrap myself as closely in my cloak as if it were a winding-sheet, lean my forehead against the cold marble of a balustrade, and, for a number of minutes, whose flight I no longer heeded, remain buried in a trance of mute but inexhaustible adoration, during which I no longer felt the earth beneath my knees or under my feet, but lost myself in God, like the mote, which, attracted by the heat of a summer day, rises, swims, loses itself in the floating atmosphere, and, becoming as transparent as ether, seems as aerial as the air itself, and as brilliant as light!”

At length, “after the philosophy year,—a year during which they tortured with stupid and barbarous sophisms the natural good sense of youth, to make it bend to the reigning dogmas and institutions,”—he left the college with its highest honours, and returned to the homestead at Milly. A period of retired but most delightful life ensued—his descriptions of it are enchanting. Leisure readings of the historians and poets, chiefly in the family circle, were alternated with the rides of the chase, rambles among the hills, rustic company, poetry-making, and love-making. His poetical genius received, during this tranquil period, its first exhilarations. Tasso, Dante, Petrarch, Shakspeare, Milton, Chateaubriand, and Ossian were the familiar companions of his rural retreat. Ossian especially—that book which youth always

reads with mournful enchantment, and age seldom or never reads at all—awoke his melancholy imagination, and, as with Byron and Campbell, became the model of his first converse with the muses. The misty and spectral work of poor Macpherson had, at that date, a marvellous and somewhat ludicrous predominance in France. Napoleon, whose estimation of books was about as creditable as his opinions of astrology, had adopted Ossian for his camp-reading, in imitation of Alexander's choice of Homer. On his return to Paris from his first campaign in Italy, he was received with magnificent ceremonies and a panegyric from Talleyrand. The keen diplomatist, who was not too well affected towards him, referred particularly to his interest in the Celtic bard, aiming by the allusion, it is said, a sarcasm at his false taste. Talleyrand's noted maxim, that language is designed to conceal one's thoughts, worked too truly for him in this instance. It effectually concealed his intention, at least; the compliment was taken as outrightly honest. The intimation that Ossian was in honour with the rising conqueror electrified the mind of France, and "straightway," says a French critic, "France became Ossianic." Macpherson, however, fell with Napoleon in France; but at the period of Lamartine's life now under our notice, he was in full prevalence. The poet says:—

"That was the time when Ossian, the poet of the genius of ruin and strife, swayed the imagination of France. Baour-Lormain translated him in sonorous verse for the camps of the emperor. The women sang him in plaintive ballads, or in triumphal flourishes, at the departure, on the graves, or at the return, of their lovers. Small editions of him in portable volumes found their way into every library. One of these fell into my hands. I buried myself in that ocean of shadows, blood, tears, spectres, foam, snow, mist, frost, and imagery, the immensity, gloom, and mournfulness of which harmonized so well with the melancholy grandeur of a soul of sixteen casting its first rays on the infinite. I would carry these poems with me in my game-bag to the mountains, and, while the dogs made the defiles ring with their voices, I would read them, seated beneath some concave rock. How often have I felt my tears freeze and hang like icicles from my eyelashes. I had become one of the bard's sons; one of the heroical, enamoured, plaintive shadows, which fight, love, weep, or sing to the sound of the harp in the dark domains of Fingal. Ossian is certainly one of the palettes on which my imagination has blended the most colours, and which has left the most of its tints on the feeble sketches which I have since traced."

He inserts in his *Confidences* an original specimen of Ossianic composition, which Macpherson himself might have adopted.

We have been the more particular in these details of his early life, because in them are revealed the seminal elements of his genius and character. The maternal influences that imbued his infancy with affection and sanctity, the training at Belley, and the inspiration

of Tasso and Ossian, furnish the solution of most of his characteristics as a writer and a man.

When eighteen years old he visited Rome,—another event of important influence on his subsequent history. Italy was at that time rife with liberal sentiments, and to a casual acquaintance with one of her sons—an humble but accomplished teacher of language—he ascribes his first love of intellectual and civil liberty. His hereditary royalism could not neutralize that instinct for freedom which is ever inherent in true genius. The abuses of the Revolutionists and the supreme selfishness of the Emperor had restrained his sympathies from the movements of the period; but in the poor Italian teacher he found a mind full of his own melancholy sensibility, and passionate for freedom,—a man who mourned over the fate of the world, and who, acknowledging the abuses of liberty, could at the same time discriminate its abuses from its blessings. The two friends pursued their walks together in patriotic discussions of the subject; they would seat themselves on the hill of the villa Pamphillii, with the historic ruins of Rome spread out beneath them, and “shed bitter tears” over the prospects of the nations “abandoned to tyranny of every kind;” and while they lamented that philosophy and liberty seemed to be revived in France and Italy only to be defiled, betrayed, and oppressed everywhere, “they murmured together imprecations against the tyrant of the human mind, the crowned soldier who only dabbled in the revolution to draw from it strength to destroy it, and subject nations anew to every prejudice and every servitude.” It was amidst the august and melancholy associations of Rome that Gibbon conceived the great achievement of his genius; Lamartine received there a higher inspiration. It did not, as with Gibbon, kindle merely his literary ambition, but his noblest sympathies with humanity. He there adopted that doctrine of the liberation and elevation of all men,—founded not upon one idea, the idea merely of revolutions in the external forms of government, or the succession of parties or dynasties, but on the development of the whole social interests of man, as progressively desiderated by the tendencies of intelligence, virtue, and Providence,—the doctrine which has since given the title of the “social school” to his party, and has rendered his political course a problem equivocal, if not insoluble, to the blinded eyes of partisans and demagogues. Musing amidst the hoary monuments of the eternal city, shedding ingenuous tears for the sufferings of his country and his race, he there learned to distinguish the cause of freedom at once from the Jacobinism of the Revolution and the dazzling but tyrannic egotism of Napoleon. “From this period,” he manfully says, “dated my love for the emancipa-

tion of the human mind and that intellectual hatred of the hero of the age; a hatred which was based on reason, and felt at the same time; a hatred which reflection and time have only justified, despite the vile flatterers of his memory; a hatred with which I am proud to have lived, and with which I hope to die!" Noble words to be uttered at the very moment that a fickle and fawning people, charmed by the name of the hero-tyrant, exalt to the supreme power of their country a man whose single distinction, besides some juvenile follies, is, that he was one of the dynastic clique, who, by sharing the name of the hero, without sharing his ability, have thereby been placed the more signally in contrast with him.

From Rome he passed to Naples, where he was joined by a friend—Aymon de Virieu—who was to exert, in later years, a very salutary influence on his character, and whose own history, as recorded in "*Les Confidences*," is one of the most interesting episodes in that most interesting record.

Virieu was ever by his side; they read together, conversed together under the vine arbours of the neighbouring country, or rambled in company along the beach of the bay. The indolent, dreamy life of the Neapolitan lazzaroni had charms for them in that balmy clime, and they mingled among the careless, thoughtless herd until they became familiar with their jargon, and better acquainted with their habits and character than with those of any other class. Tempted by the tranquil lives of the fishermen of the bay,—“the warm and brilliant nights spent beneath the sail, in that cradle rocked by the waves under the deep and star-spangled sky,”—they resolved to join one of them, and share his life a short time. The result was a period of months spent in the guise and habits of Neapolitan sailors, and in total retirement from all other society. They resided with the family of the fisherman, a kind-hearted old man, partook of their humble fare, and Lamartine fell in love (though not quite willing to admit it) with his daughter, the beautiful Graziella,—a character which he has painted with poetic and fascinating interest through fully one-third of his "*Confidences*." She died soon after his departure, loving him to the end, and leaving to him reminiscences replete with beauty, affection, and melancholy. The most exquisite prose production of his pen is the sketch of this episode in his personal history. The dreamy leisure of his daily life, the pleasures and perils of his fishing excursions, the charming scenery of the bay and neighbouring islands, the simple life of the fisherman's cabin, the evenings spent in conversing with, or reading to the humble family, and, above all, the beauty, purity, and tragic history of Graziella, give to his narrative a romantic and bewitch-

ing interest. St. Pierre himself could not have painted more finely the scene in which the poet read to the illiterate household the story of Paul and Virginia, while Graziella held the lamp over the book and dropped her tears upon his hand.

On the fall of the empire Lamartine entered the service of Louis XVIII., and joined the royal guards. The corps of the guards to which he belonged hastened, at the return of Napoleon from Elba, towards the Belgian frontier; but he resolved not to forsake his country: when they were within a few miles of the boundary a proclamation was issued by the flying Bourbons, giving them liberty to follow the king into exile or return to their homes. Lamartine mounted the wheel-nave of one of the carriages which bore their arms, and made the first public speech of his life. He opposed emigration, insisted upon a return to their homes, and a union with the republicans against the emperor, for the sake of constitutional liberty, which he had hoped for under the restored Bourbons, but despaired of under Napoleon. A majority of the corps joined him and tarried in France. He returned to Paris, but, being forbidden the city, left it for his home, "with all his energy and the presentiment of future freedom."

The continual levies demanded by the Emperor rendered him liable to be called into service; to avoid the danger he escaped into Switzerland, where he remained during the Hundred Days, living sometimes among peasants and disguised in their costume; sometimes in the chateau of a sequestered French officer, and at others in the family of a boatman of the Leman. At the final downfall of Napoleon, Lamartine returned to Paris and re-entered the king's guard. He was of an age when the temptations of such a city are next to irresistible to an ardent temperament like his, and, if we may judge from intimations in his writings, he fell before them. A period of dissipation ensued, during which not only his morals were corrupted, but also the religious opinions to which he had been so assiduously trained at home and at Belley. He became a skeptic, and gaming was his "principal occupation." Leaving, finally, the royal guards, he wandered to and fro in France, Switzerland, and Italy, "winning and losing considerable sums at Milan, Paris, and Naples." He describes himself as at this time in all "the ebullition of his most hare-brained and violent years." The germs of truth faithfully implanted in infancy are, however, ineradicable. Unexpected reverses had almost ruined his paternal home; and, amidst them all, the maternal voice, which had first taught him the lessons of religion, called him back from his wanderings to its afflicted but devout hearth. He spent a summer in the solitude of Milly; retirement and medita-

tion softened his heart, and revived the impressions of his better days. The family were absent, and he had full leisure for self-inspection. A profound but salutary melancholy pervaded his spirit, and again he welcomed to his heart the faith of his childhood.

"In solitude, piety always returned to me: it has always made me better. I did not believe with my mind, but I believed with my heart. The void which had been made in my soul by the evaporation of the faith of my childhood, in the dissipations of those years of shame and sorrow, seemed to me to be delightfully filled up by that feeling of divine love which again became warm beneath the ashes of my first excesses, and which purified while it consoled me. I was obstinate in my desire to recover the belief of my youth on the spot where I had acquired the belief of my childhood. I subjected my rebellious reason to that ardent wish to believe, that I might be able to love and pray. I strenuously drove from my mind every shadow, every doubt, every repugnance. I succeeded in partly forming the illusions for which I thirsted; and, to give you an exact notion of the state of my soul at that period, if I did not then adore the God of my mother as my God, I at least bore Him on my heart as my idol."

Strange language, indeed, to a Protestant ear; but it must be borne in mind that Lamartine's religious training had been conducted in the "dim religious light" of Romanism, and that with this dimness had blended only the more dazzling and blinding radiations of that liberal philosophy, which elevated minds, too strong for Popery, and yet unfamiliar with evangelical Protestantism, hail as the best light upon their pathway.

This imperfect, idealized faith, deepened into a profounder sentiment in his later life; his *Voyage en Orient* shows that he had become a praying man, and manifests even an ardent piety; but he has never risen above the inferior level of Popery, though he welcomes there that rationalistic liberalism to which we have alluded, and which a mind like his cannot repel, except when aided by the illumination of purer truth. After this temporary and salutary retirement at Milly he went to the waters of Aix, in Savoy, where occurred the incidents which he has woven into the tale of "Raphael;" they are modified, however, with so many imaginary additions, that it is impossible to discriminate the real from the fictitious. His "*Confidences*" close at this point, and leave us to trace the remainder of his history by the scattered intimations of his writings and the uncertain statements of the *Feuilletons*. It was not long, however, before he appeared in public life as poet and politician, and in our remaining observations we shall contemplate him in these characters respectively; again reminding the reader that the time has not arrived for a very definitive estimate of him as either author or statesman.

On retiring from the military family of the king, Lamartine seems

to have entertained no very precise plans of life. His political opinions had become somewhat settled, but his political ambition was still unawakened. His life was casual; his mind, however, instinctively tended to poetry. While yet in the guards he began to cherish its inspirations, and composed verses when on duty under the royal windows at St. Cloud. During his wanderings in Italy and elsewhere he wrote several brief poems; and, in 1820, sent them forth in Paris, under the title of "*Méditations Poétiques*." He passed, as we have seen, from publisher to publisher, without finding any willing to risk its publication, till at last one of the trade, by the name of Nicolle, consented to issue it. The title of the little volume was not attractive; it appeared anonymously, and without a prefatory word to conciliate the reader. By a happy accident, Jules Janin saw it on a book-stall. He at once perceived its merits; its deep poetic spirit, melancholy, vague, evervarying, and thrilling with passionateness; its style, terse, at times misty, but always sustained and strenuous, and its rhythm of softest cadence and ringing vibration. The celebrated critic wrote an elaborate review of the new and unknown poet, and hailed him with enthusiasm. Contemporary reviewers discussed the modest volume with eagerness, its pieces were quoted everywhere, and forty-five thousand copies were spread over France in about four years. It consists of detached pieces on a variety of themes. The ode to Byron, on Man, is full of lofty, though melancholy thought and religious feeling; the "Evening," the "Lake," "Autumn," the "Temple," and the "Gulf of Baiæ," are characterized by a fine elegiac spirit, and the pieces on God and Immortality reveal the genuine grandeur of their subjects.

The splendid success of this volume drew the attention of the government towards the author. He was attached to the French embassy at Florence, and there occurred one of those happy accidents which crowd his history, and give it the character almost of a romance. He heard one day a sweet voice singing, in subdued tones, the following lines from his "*Meditations*:"—

"Perchance the future may reserve for me
A happiness, whose hope I now resign;
Perchance amid the busy world may be
Some soul, unknown, responsive still to mine."

They were sung by a young, accomplished, and opulent English lady. The poet recognized her as the "soul responsive" to his own, and married her the same year at Naples, whither he had been removed, as secretary of the French embassy in that city. He was subsequently appointed to London in the same capacity, and to Tuscany

as chargé d'affaires. Meanwhile he received from a deceased uncle an important accession to the fortune which he had derived from his marriage.

Promotion and opulence did not abate his devotion to the Muses. In 1823 he published a second series of the "*Méditations Poétiques*." French critics have differed in their estimates of the comparative merits of the two works, and a foreigner can never pronounce judgment on a question of French *poetry* which is disputed by native critics. We think, however, that the second series exhibits more of the calm, self-sustained strength of mature genius, a truer and terser style, and more varied, if not more elevated themes. The "Ode to Bonaparte," "Sappho," the "Dying Poet," the "Preludes," and the "Crucifix," are especially fine.

The "Death of Socrates," and the Last Canto of Childe Harold, followed; both decidedly inferior to his previous efforts. The Canto of Childe Harold was designed as a conclusion to the incomplete "Pilgrimage" of Byron; it came very near concluding our poet's own pilgrimage. In an address to Italy occurred the following two verses:—

"I seek elsewhere (forgive, O Roman shade!)
For men, and not the dust of which they're made."

A Neapolitan officer took offence at the passage, as an indignity to his country, and sent a challenge to the author. Lamartine was foolish enough to accept it;—a duel followed, in which he was seriously wounded, and his life remained a considerable time in suspense.

The *Chant du Sacré* appeared in 1824, and five years afterwards was sent forth his third great work, the "*Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses*." The characteristics of the "*Méditations*" re-appear in this production, often with augmented force, but, as a whole, it is of inferior merit. It is often transcendental and mystical; his vagueness mars it throughout. Its themes are varied, but their treatment is not popular. A deep and mournful religious spirit pervades it, but without evangelical distinctness. Its pictures of human wretchedness are often terrible, as in the "*Novissima Verba*," and its vagueness often becomes mistiness. Still this work has a resistless attraction for a certain class of really elevated minds. Its intense religious solicitude—however dubious the response evoked in its pages—is congenial with that state of religious unrest and doubt which the wide-spread disturbance of theological opinions in Europe has produced. The thoughtful mind, agonized by its self-conflicts, finds in the "*Harmonies*" something more than food for

revery; and if its author frequently ascends beyond the reach of the reader, it is, sometimes at least, as the bird of Jove becomes invisible by the elevation of its flight.

France recognized Lamartine as her great poetical genius. His literary success placed him by the side of Chateaubriand. He was admitted to the *Académie Française*, and had been appointed by Charles X. as minister plenipotentiary to Greece when the Revolution of 1830 took place. The new government offered to confirm his appointment, but he declined the overture, and, after failing in Toulon and Dunkirk of an election to the Chamber of Deputies, he embarked, on the 20th of May, 1832, for the East—a voyage which has afforded us one of the most remarkable books of travel which has ever been produced. The English translator has preposterously enough entitled the work a “Pilgrimage;” Lamartine’s journey had few characteristics which could entitle it to such a name. It was performed *en prince*;—he chartered a vessel of two hundred and fifty tons for his exclusive use; and supplied it with a crew of nineteen men, a physician and other attendants, besides some half dozen servants. It was furnished with a small arsenal of arms against the pirates of the Greek isles, a library of five hundred selected volumes, and an abundance of “creature comforts.” In his wanderings through Syria he was attended by an imposing retinue, mounted on splendid Arabian horses, and equipped in a style that excited the admiration—which in the East means reverence—of Mussulman, Jew, and Christian. This opulent abundance and security of the traveller gave, however, to the voyage an air of relief and comfort which heightens the interest of the reader; an interest redoubled by the fact that the poet’s wife and his only daughter accompanied him.

It would be impracticable to give here an outline of his remarkable journey. Taught to read by his mother in a Bible which was illustrated with engravings of Oriental life and scenery, he had dreamed from his infancy of the East. The impressions of his earliest days were still distinct and fresh in his imagination, though nearly half a century had passed over him, and he visited the consecrated places of the Holy Land with a blended religious and poetic enthusiasm. He professes to have received a special illumination while worshipping at the Holy Sepulchre, and throughout the whole of the journey he writes with the fervour of a devotee. His narrative is full of picturesque description, devout meditations, spiritual aspirations, and pensive reveries. A fervid sentimentalism pervades the whole work, and, indeed, is superabundant for most English readers. It was during this voyage that Lady Hester Stanhope, the noted recluse of Lebanon, uttered predictions respecting his political

career which have since been marvellously verified. Had they not been published several years before the events, they would now be pronounced inventions *post facto*. A very respectable high church English periodical gravely ascribes them to "a spirit of divination consistent with the devil's usual way of acting," to which Lady Hester "laid herself open by retiring into a solitary place, far from the fellowship of her kind, in order to indulge herself in wild, if not blasphemous, imaginations."*

The "*Voyage en Orient*" presents an almost autobiographical revelation of the author's character; his poetic spirit, his religious fervour—more implicitly if not abjectly Papal than in any of his other works—his romantic sentimentalism, his melancholy temperament, his exaggeration, his political predilections, his unparalleled powers of picturesque description, are manifest on almost every page. But, above all, do we see in this interesting book the affectionate sensibility of the man; its references to his deceased mother are frequent and most touching. His daughter Julia is an apparition of real loveliness and interest throughout the book. She died at Beirût, and left on her father's heart an impression of sorrow which has never been erased. The subsequent pages of his journal read as if written with his tears. He never tires of allusions to her. On leaving the country for France, bearing away her remains, he bowed down with agony and tears, and kissed the dust on the floor of the apartment where she died.

In 1835 appeared his *Jocelyn*, a poetical romance. It is written with a fervid inspiration, and abounds in passages of remarkable beauty and power, but is not a little hampered by the Alexandrine verse in which it is composed. It has been justly censured for its reckless grammatical transgressions. The poet attempts the loftiest ideal of human virtue, and sustains his theme with great vigour, amplifying and illustrating it by varied and thrilling accidents of scenery and adventure. *Jocelyn*, in order that his share of the paternal property might be appropriated to the support of his sister, was destined to an ecclesiastic life. The religious houses and seminaries being broken up by the Revolution, he retired to a cave in the mountains, where an exile and his child present themselves and claim his protection. The father, borne down with griefs, dies in the hermitage, leaving his son, Lawrence, to the care of the hermit. After two years spent in the grotto, *Jocelyn* discovers that the beautiful orphan, the supposed son, is a young girl in the full bloom of adolescence. He is smitten with her charms, and he has not yet taken upon him religious vows which would interdict his love. But

* The Theologian and Ecclesiastic, July, 1848. London.

at this moment a prelate, condemned to death by the Revolutionary tribunal, sends for the recluse, that he may ordain him, in order to receive from his hands the last sacrament. Jocelyn could not resist the appeal of the proscribed man; he consents to be ordained, but returns no more to his cave. He becomes the pastor of an humble village among the Alps, but cannot divest his memory of the image of the beautiful girl. The conflict between passion and duty is painted by the poet with thrilling effect. Jocelyn visits Paris; he sees there a gay coquette in a church; it is the orphan of the cave transformed, but still beautiful. He hastens away, and again buries himself among the Alps. Years afterwards, the faithful priest is called to minister to a lady who is overtaken with illness in his parish, while on her way to Italy. Her symptoms are mortal: she confesses to him, refers to her residence in the mountain grotto, and avows her love for Jocelyn. The latter makes himself known: the dying lady, overwhelmed with emotion, kisses his hand and expires. He blesses her last moments and buries her; and, after years of fidelity to his office, is himself placed in her grave by the mountain villagers.

The subject was congenial with the poet's sentimental romanticism; it admitted ample play to his taste for the picturesque, especially in its descriptions of Alpine scenery, which are grandly executed, and it afforded an occasion that he has fully used, of reproducing the religious impressions of his cloistered life at Belley. Its popularity was general, and it is said that no French poem has been more extensively read.

His next publication was "*La Chute d'un Ange*,"—it was more, however, the *chute* of his own genius; and, together with his following work, "*Recueillements Poétiques*," detracted much from his reputation. He had become too thoroughly engrossed in politics; his muse evidently drooped with neglect, and his indirect apology in the preface to the latter work, where he rebukes the ardour of the poet, and restricts the claims of the divine art merely to hours of leisure or relaxation, could not avail with the public for his justification.

Of his "*History of the Girondists*," the next important production of his pen, we need say but little; it has probably been read before this time by most of our readers. Obnoxious to many critical objections, as an historical production, it has nevertheless unrivalled individual excellences, and has produced more effect on France than any other book of the century. It doubtless precipitated the late Revolution, and will continue to impel onward the progressive developments, which its author assumes as the *rationale* of the preceding revolutionary eruptions and of his country's destiny. It is

valuable as furnishing new and important data for the history of the first revolution; its portaitures of character are delineated with rare discrimination, and, if its style partakes too much of the ardent temperament of the poet, it is nevertheless not altogether incompatible with the scenes of moral and political devastation—of tumult, terror, and retribution,—which he records.

Since the publication of the "Girondists," has appeared his "*Raphael; or, Pages from the Book of Life at Twenty*"—a work of the most elevated purpose, but the most farcical execution. Sincerely disposed as we are to award the best credit to our author, we regret to be under the necessity of enumerating this absurd affair among the productions of his pen. It would have been fatally discreditable to the reputation of any of our own third-rate magazine writers; and, did it not unequivocally show a serious design, we should, in all frankness, take it for a satire—an ironical caricature of the modern sentimental novel.

Besides the works we have enumerated, Lamartine has sent forth a brochure in defence of his administration of the Provisional Government, entitled "*Three Months in Power*," &c. He has published, also, a series of auto-biographical "Notes," entitled, "*Les Confidences*," &c., in the Paris journal, *La Presse*. We have already made frequent references to them. Appearing contemporaneously with Chateaubriand's memoirs of himself, they have excited, if possible, greater interest. They present abundant specimens of fine writing, but the narrative is somewhat incoherent and inconsequent, and obviously overwrought. The poetical fervour of the writer betrays him into almost habitual hyperbole. These memoirs, however, will rank among the best productions of his pen; they abound in lofty sentiments, picturesque descriptions, and episodes of much beauty and pathos. We have alluded to the graceful sketch of Graziella, which forms a large portion of these Notes. As a tale of romance, it might take rank near by St. Pierre's immortal Paul and Virginia; but, as a biographical episode, its ideal and obvious exaggerations awaken the misgivings of the reader, and risk his confidence in the narrative generally.

We have thus traced the series of Lamartine's literary works down to the present time, and have given, *en passant*, occasional general observations on his literary characteristics. A few summary remarks will suffice for the remainder of this part of our article.

His popularity as a poet has been unequalled during his day in France. De Vigny has given some fine specimens of both taste and feeling; Victor Hugo's political lyrics and "*Orientales*" show spirit and imagination; Beranger's lyrics are written *ad populum*,

and will live forever; but Lamartine appeals more variously and profoundly to the sensibilities of the heart. The religious sentiment, with its deep anxieties, the remorse of guilt, the felicity of virtue, manful indignation at wrong, however consecrated, brave vindication of the right, however despised, the aspirations and sufferings of genius, the domestic affections, the love of country, the heroic in character, the picturesque in nature, the sentimentality of love,—all subjects indeed which are susceptible of the idealism of poetry,—have kindled his inspiration. Herein is the security of his poetical fame. He has sung of subjects which have not an adventitious, but an abiding relation to the sympathies of human nature, and he has sung of them in a style defective in many respects, but always earnest, solemn, and thrilling—the true style of the true bard and seer.

Tasso and Ossian, as we have seen, early imparted to him that romanticism, and vague and misty grandeur, which characterize, more or less, all his writings. Later in life another writer influenced him still more profoundly. Rousseau's infectious melancholy, his sublime theism, agonizing doubt, and fervid sentimentalism, could hardly fail to be congenial with such a mind as Lamartine's, notwithstanding its better religious tendencies. Few writers of modern times have left a deeper impression on the mind of Europe than poor Jean Jacques Rousseau. He helped Voltaire and his school, too effectually, to fight down religion and government in Europe; but while they sophisticated, scoffed, and grinned, he, from his solitude of Montmorenci, or his exile in Neufchatel, wrote with maddened earnestness. Deep wells of the clear waters of truth, and many verdant oases, are found in the desolate desert of his writings. The melancholy and stern earnestness of his spirit permeated the literature of Europe. Chateaubriand, with all his Papal predilections, pondered over Rousseau's pages in our western wilderness, drinking in their spirit, and exemplifying it powerfully in the character of René. Lamennais, while writing his splendid protest against indifference in religion, drew inspiration from the same profane source, and at last, in his "*Paroles d'un Croyant*," speaks out with the maniacal tone and energy of the Genevan madman. Lamartine has studied Rousseau with fascination, and, to a considerable degree, imbibed his genius and adopted his style. The creed of the *Vicaire Savoyard* has become the symbol of the faith of rationalistic scholars in Europe generally, and, covertly, of a large portion of the more enlightened minds of the Roman priesthood; Lamartine evidently admires it, while he attempts to hold on to the ritual of Popery. We cannot recall a clerical character in his writings who does not receive it.

This deep, earnest spirit, in connexion with the permanent subjects of his verse, and his harmonious and sonorous rhythm, has called forth a responsive sympathy from all France; and though his larger poems, from their generally acknowledged inferiority, may not be abidingly popular, his detached pieces, which form in fact the mass of his works, will always constitute a large portion of the French anthology.

It is hardly necessary, after what has been said, for us to remark on the moral effect of his writings. In two respects, most important, because most necessary in France, they must exert a salutary influence. They consecrate the household affections and relations, and their pictures of domestic life are often charmingly beautiful. In hardly any other respect is French literature, generally, more defective; and the social disorganization of the country is attributable, in a great degree, to its lack of a correct domestic life. Lamartine's works are a powerful recommendation to Frenchmen of the virtues and comforts of a Christian home.

Their religious tendency, though marred by both Papal and rationalistic defects, can hardly fail to be salutary. Compared with French literature generally, his works may be called emphatically religious. They are not only exempt, and entirely exempt, from the characteristic impurity of the literature of his country, but are pervaded by intense spiritual aspirations. With all their dogmatic defects, they are far above the average religious sentiment of the country, and therefore will tend, it is to be hoped, to elevate it.

Lamartine's faults as a writer are neither small nor few. His sentimentalism often becomes excessive and effeminate. A half century has not sufficed to chasten his ardour, which frequently grows rampant with enthusiasm. In narratives of facts, as his "*Voyage*," and "*Les Confidences*," he idealizes and exaggerates quite beyond the credulity of the reader; and a melancholy egotism, very like Byron's, perverts most of his productions. These defects, however, are not so obnoxious to criticism in poetry as in prose, and will not seriously affect his poetical reputation.

We pass to notice Lamartine's character as a politician or statesman. He held, as we have seen, diplomatic posts under the Bourbons. He declined at first to act in the same capacity after the Revolution of 1830, but not because he sympathized with the policy of Charles X., or rejected the hopes of the Revolution. He expected, under the restoration of the Bourbons, progressive ameliorations in conformity with the liberal spirit of the times, and acknowledged the fatal errors of the Polignac ministry; but the elevation of the Duke of Orleans was the substitution of one Bourbon for another: he chose

to await the result before committing himself to the experiment, and his suspicions have been verified. This is the true solution of that apparent contradiction in his political history, which arises from the fact of his undisguised sympathy with the legitimists, and his profession, meanwhile, of liberal views. When embarking for the East, after having declined Louis Philippe's offer to confirm his diplomatic appointment to Greece, he thus writes:—

"This revolution has not roused me, because it has not astonished me; I saw it coming afar off: many months before the fatal day, the fall of the restored monarchy was foreseen, by me, in the names of the persons it had chosen to conduct it. These men were devoted and faithful, but they were of another century; while the ideas of the age marched in one direction, they marched in another. I have wept for this family, which seemed condemned to the destiny and blindness of *Oedipus*. I have particularly deplored the unnecessary divorce between the past and the future,—the one might have been so useful to the other; liberty and the progress of social order would have borrowed so much force from this adoption which the ancient royal houses, the old families and old virtues, would have made of them. But we must not lose time in regrets; we must act and proceed; it is the law of nature, it is the law of God. Let us leave to their proper claimants faults of a *coup d'état* and a retrograde direction; pity and weep for the august victims of a fatal error, but withhold no honourable sympathy from them; repress not distant but legitimate hopes; and, for the rest, re-enter the ranks of citizens,—think, speak, act, and combat with the family of the nation."

We have, on a preceding page, shown that this eclectic, non-partisan character of his politics, this discrimination of liberty and the true interests of states from dynastic administrations and party demagogueism, was adopted by him while yet in the ingenuousness of his youth; he has firmly maintained it down to the present time, allying himself by vows of allegiance to no party, but assailing or vindicating the actual administration, accordingly as it swerved from, or adhered to, what he deemed the true policy of the country. In his *Travels in the East* he says:—

"I belong not to these men, [aristocrats,] but to the party who do not despise those who are below them in society, at the same time that they respect those above them; whose wish, be it a dream or not, is to raise all men, without regard to their place in the arbitrary hierarchies of politics, to the same light of knowledge, the same liberty, and the same moral perfection."

Lamartine early assumed, and has never waived, the opinion,—remarkable for a French politician, and indeed for any politician,—that politics should be based on morality; that the true interests of nations are as legitimately dependent upon political virtue as the interests of individuals are upon personal virtue. He would scout the chicanery of party and the dishonest artifices of diplomacy,—“the deceiving and being deceived” of nations,—as the prolific sources of their demoralization and disasters; and he believes—and

good men will join him in the hope—that the time will yet come when the morality of the Christian religion will be recognized, in the transactions of states, as essential to their honour and prosperity. While sailing to Syria, he said:—

“The hour is at hand when the light of the Pharos of reason and morality will pierce through our political tempests, and we shall frame the social code which the world begins to foresee and to understand,—the symbol of love and charity amongst men, the charity of the gospel. May Heaven regenerate men, for our politics are a disgrace to us, and make angels weep.”

Such ideas are, apparently, incomprehensible to most politicians. A statesman who, like our own lamented “old man eloquent,” takes his independent stand bravely on the ground of the truth, and admits to his heart party sympathies only so far as they are compatible with such a position, is not only laughed at as absurd by demagogical knaves, but pronounced impracticable or too hypothetical by men who would not like to be considered destitute of honesty. Lamartine was quite anomalous among his countrymen in this respect, yet he bore up hopefully and courageously against their cavils. He writes:—

“You say that everything dies, and that there is no longer any faith or belief;—there is a faith; this faith is general reason; language is its organ, the press is its apostle; it seeks to re-construct in its own image religions, civilizations, societies, and legislations. It seeks in religion, God, one and perfect, as its dogma; eternal morality as its symbol; adoration and charity as its worship; in politics, humanity above all nationalities; in legislation, man equal to man, men the brothers of men—*legislative Christianity*.”

We honour the man that dares so to speak in an age like this, and especially in a country like France. History will honour him. If the corruptions of his times neutralize his practical policy, they cannot destroy the influence of his example; he vindicates the eternal truth—the truth which, if our religion is not a grand fallacy, and the hopes of our world delusions, will yet predominate over the legislation and the thrones of the nations. Christian morality as the basis, and the development of the whole well-being of humanity as the aim of politics—such is the creed of Lamartine as a statesman. But, while he would inculcate such principles, he recognizes a divine Providence in the evil, as well as the good, of history. In his “Girondists” he has discriminated the right from the wrong of the Revolution, with an honest, if not always unerring, analysis. He develops the providential formula, if we may so speak, of that great transmutation of European institutions, which, commencing then, is still in process, and will continue to proceed—inflicting retribution for the wrongs of the past, and hastening, with recurring impulses, the ameliorations of the future. He theorizes revolution, and, not-

withstanding many errors, he has, we think, deciphered the terrible characters with which the providence of God wrote out on the face of Europe the lessons of that appalling event.

While yet in Syria, Lamartine was elected to the Chamber of Deputies by the department of the North. He first appeared in the Tribune on the 4th of January, 1834, in a debate on the address. Much anxiety had been felt by his friends respecting his *début* in this new arena; but, sustained by the force of his genius, and the moral dignity of his principles, he commenced his political career with a positive success. He at once assumed an independent position; he was neither a "Radical," nor "Legitimist," nor "Juste Milieu," but an honest representative of the interests of his country. Men of like independence gathered around him, and virtually formed a school distinguished by generous and progressive opinions, and denominated, at last, as the "Parti Social." For a time he co-operated with Guizot and the conservatives; but the retrograde tendency of that party, in its later period, alienated him: he denounced with all his eloquence its attempt to resist the demands of the times, and predicted that its infatuation would lead to its overthrow. Thus standing alone, the opponent at once of extreme conservatism and precipitate advancement, but ready to recognize every providential indication of progress, he became the man, the hero, of the late Revolution. All classes turned instinctively, as it were, towards him when the storm broke upon the state. The appalling memory of similar storms in other days was still strong in the public mind; what signs of terror might come out again on the darkening heavens no one could tell; but all felt that a man morally reliable, a man whose *heart* could be trusted, was necessary for the crisis.

Of the events of that crisis we need not particularly speak; they are fresh in the memory of the reader. In the midst of the tumultuous confusion, Lamartine was the first to propose the restoration of order by a provisional government. It was Lamartine who, on the 26th of February, proclaimed it, and declared the abolition of royalty, the birth of the republic, and the decree which abrogated the penalty of death for political offences; "the noblest decree that has ever issued from a people the day after their victory." He proposed and secured the abolition of African slavery in the French colonies; and during the critical months of the Provisional Government he chiefly saved the revolution by his marvellous management of his half-crazed colleagues, and his moral control of the rabble of the faubourgs. The subsequent and unparalleled outbreak in Paris showed that the popular elements fermenting in the Revolution of 1848 were as explosive and dangerous as those which spread horror

over France in the first Revolution. They were even more perilous; for the usual ferocity of the mob was stimulated by additional political ideas, relating to the rights of property, and affecting the whole organization of society,—ideas radical in the extreme, yet systematized into a science which had been promulgated all through the population, and made the most powerful appeal possible to its rapacity and its sufferings. The catastrophe was inevitable; it was fearfully developed in the insurrection of Paris; but Lamartine held it in abeyance, from the day in which it would have been irrepressible, to that in which the sword of Cavaignac could control it. Five times during the memorable 25th of February he was compelled to appease the mob, when no other voice could silence it. The infatuated multitude, brandishing their arms, and shouting vengeance against the Provisional Government, demanded the red flag, and the head of Lamartine, who courageously stood forth, with folded arms and in silence before them for half an hour, and then addressed them, in words which had more power than the voice of the cannon. "You demand from us the red flag, instead of the tri-colour one. Citizens, for my part I will never adopt the red flag; I will explain, in a word, why I will oppose it with all the strength of my patriotism. It is, citizens, because the tri-colour flag has made the tour of the world, under the republic and the empire, with our liberties and our glories, and that the red flag has only made the tour of the Champ-de-Mars, trailed through torrents of the blood of the people." The riotous mass responded with acclamations to his speech; they wept, shook his hands, and embraced him in their brawny arms.

In his "Three Months in Power" Lamartine has fully, and, we think, triumphantly vindicated his connexion with the Provisional Government, and with the insurrection which concluded it. His relation with the radical leaders was, as he eloquently said in the National Assembly, that which the lightning-rod bears to the storm. His opponents have failed to impeach him, and France now holds him guiltless, while, with her usual fickleness, she disgraces him. His spirit, self-sustained by conscious integrity, is superior to his misfortunes. He has re-appeared in the tribune, with unabated resolution and vigour; and it can hardly be doubted, that if he patiently "bides his time," France will hereafter recognize his claims to her confidence and homage.

Absurd comparisons have been made between Lamartine and Washington. Both the men and the exigencies which made them are quite contradistinguished. Napoleon complained justly of similar comparisons between the great American and himself. What

would be appropriate in a leader of revolution in France, would be fantastically dramatic, serio-comic, in such a leader among the severely practical people of this country. Washington would have died unknown had he been a Frenchman. Paris has hitherto been France; and the *sans culottes* are Paris, in the time of revolution. Washington was not the man to lead *sans culottes*. His own army was indeed *sans culottes* sometimes, but they were still the enlightened yeomen, the self-respecting proprietors, or sons of the proprietors of the soil. The French recognize Washington in the grandeur of his renown; but they would never have recognized him as the man of a national epoch, when as yet no very signal event had marked his career, nor any trait of *éclat* his character. Their great man must shine and dazzle; impetuosity, a bold or oracular speech, thoroughly positive traits, are indications of greatness to them. Lamartine has the moral integrity of Washington, without his equanimity and wisdom; his enthusiasm gives a sympathetic power to his virtue; and his genius, his courage in speech and conduct, together with his literary fame, throw around him a lustre without which he would have been powerless among his countrymen.

We would not claim for him a high rank as a practical statesman, but affirm our respect for his political principles, and our conviction that he sustained himself, throughout his administration of the Provisional Government, with integrity and ability. Other men might have more successfully availed themselves of his position for their personal aggrandizement; few, we believe, would have used it more advantageously for the public interest.

Finally, Lamartine may be pronounced the first of living poets in France, and among the best of her statesmen,—with the qualifying admission, however, that no statesman, really of the first class, is found among her present political counsellors; and that she has not, and indeed never has had, a poet of the highest rank; such a one as can be classed with the Shakspeares or Miltons, the Dantes or Goethes, of other lands. Her greatest, though far from her best statesman, pines over his fallen fortunes at Charlemont. Among her present political characters, there are those who excel Lamartine in the practical shrewdness and chicanery of the profession; but there is none who transcends him in eloquence, in readiness and variety of capacity, or in that moral power which pertains to a pure and patriotic character, and which is indispensable to the highest public influence among even a degenerate people.

ART. IV.—NINEVEH AND ITS REMAINS.

Nineveh and its Remains: with an Account of a Visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers; and an Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians. By AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, Esq., D. C. L. In two volumes, pp. 326, 373. New-York: George P. Putnam. 1849.

THE announcement of this interesting work must have excited, with many readers, a feeling of mingled reluctance and curiosity, something like what is experienced in the effort to prolong a mysterious dream. There was, as the author has remarked in his introduction, a peculiar awfulness connected with the idea of the ruins of ancient Assyria, which made it seem almost sacrilegious to attempt to explore them. All that was known respecting them was, that somewhere north of Bagdad, on the borders of the Tigris, there existed vast desert wildernesses, haunted by unclean beasts and birds, and brooded over by noxious airs, in which were huge mounds, formless and silent, which were conjectured to be the remains of Babylon and Nineveh. Travellers could not venture into this region without a sense of incurring the displeasure of Heaven, which had condemned it to utter desolation; and when they had done so, no relics had been found which could compensate for the dangers of the journey.

With imaginative readers it is perhaps rather a matter of congratulation, that Mr. Layard's book, though it contains enough to warrant Dr. Robinson's opinion, in his introductory note, that it narrates "the crowning historical discovery of the nineteenth century," does not dispel the early impression so completely as they may have anticipated it would. The Assyrian palaces and temples do not yet stand before us, to contradict the stupendous architectural fancies of Mr. Martin; nor need we, for all that is here brought to light, forego the old belief respecting the Tower of Belus and the Hanging Gardens. To judge from the difficulties attending the explorations, we are not likely to be too rudely startled from the repose of these cherished fancies of youth; probably none of us will live to hear of the completion of a railroad from Aleppo to the banks of the Tigris, bridging Euphrates, and tunnelling the tombs of Nitocris and Nebuchadnezzar. The awful denunciations of the angel in the Apocalypse, however they are understood, may still remain associated in our minds as harmonizing with all that we are likely to know of the Babylonish ruins.*

* "And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily

It is chiefly for its personal narrative that Mr. Layard's work will interest the general reader. Without a previous familiarity with such studies, it will not be found easy or profitable to attempt to follow him in his speculations upon his discoveries; indeed, except with the assistance of plates, it is not possible to write intelligibly respecting them. In reviewing his work, therefore, we will treat it simply as a book of travels, reserving for a few concluding paragraphs our estimate of what he has accomplished.

Our author first introduces himself to us in 1840; he had then, in company with a companion as adventurous as himself, traversed Asia Minor and Syria, journeying in as free and self-dependent a style as if they had been rovers of the desert. They left Aleppo on the 18th of March in that year, to visit the remains of Babylon and Nineveh; on the 10th of April they reached Mosul, on the Tigris, in the vicinity of the ruins. The first impression of them is thus given:

"Were the traveller to cross the Euphrates to seek for such ruins in Mesopotamia and Chaldea as he had left behind him in Asia Minor or Syria, his search would be vain. The graceful column rising above the thick foliage of the myrtle, the ilex, and the oleander; the gradines of the amphitheatre covering the gentle slope, and overlooking the dark blue waters of a lakelike bay; the richly carved cornice or capital half hidden by the luxuriant herbage; are replaced by the stern, shapeless mound rising like a hill from the scorched plain, the fragments of pottery, and the stupendous mass of brickwork occasionally laid bare by the winter rains. He has left the land where nature is still lovely, where, in his mind's eye, he can rebuild the temple or the theatre, half doubting whether they would have made a more grateful impression upon the senses than the ruin before him. He is now at a loss to give any form to the rude heaps upon which he is gazing. Those of whose works they are the remains, unlike the Roman and the Greek, have left no visible traces of their civilization, or of their arts: their influence has long since passed away. The more he conjectures, the more vague the results appear. The scene around is worthy of the ruin he is contemplating; desolation meets desolation; a feeling of awe succeeds to wonder; for there is nothing to relieve the mind, to lead to hope, or to tell of what has gone by. These huge mounds of Assyria made a deeper impression upon me, gave rise to more serious thought and more earnest reflection, than the temples of Balbec or the theatres of Ionia."—Pp. 28, 29.

From Mosul Mr. Layard descended the Tigris to Bagdad. His view of the ruins had excited his curiosity, and he formed the design of examining them, whenever it might be in his power.

In 1842 he again passed Mosul, on his way to Constantinople. He found, that after his former visit M. Botta, who had been appointed French Consul at Mosul, had discovered some remarkable remains in the mounds near that city. Arrived at Constantinople, M. Botta's success increased his anxiety to return and explore the with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." Rev. xviii, 1, 2.

ruins himself. "My thoughts," he says, with true antiquarian enthusiasm, "still went back to the ruin of Nimroud, and to the traditions which attached to it. I spoke to others, but received little encouragement. At last, in the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning* mentioned to me his readiness to incur, for a limited period, the expenses of excavations in Assyria, in the hope that, should success attend the attempt, means would be found to carry it out on an adequate scale. I received with joy the offer of commencing and carrying on these excavations."

Leaving Constantinople in the middle of October, he travelled fast, and reached Mosul in twelve days; and after various delays and difficulties, he at length embarked, with implements, attendants, &c., on a raft on the Tigris, for the ruins at Nimroud, which lie near the river, some eighteen miles below Mosul. Arriving at the scene of his labours in the evening, his attendants engaged Arabs to assist in excavating, and they prepared to commence operations on the morrow, Nov. 9th, 1846.

"The lofty cone and broad mound of Nimroud broke like a distant mountain on the morning sky. But how changed was the scene since my former visit! The ruins were no longer clothed with verdure and many-coloured flowers; no signs of habitation, not even the black tent of the Arab, were seen upon the plain. The eye wandered over a parched and barren waste, across which occasionally swept the whirlwind, dragging with it a cloud of sand. About a mile from us was the small village of Nimroud, like Naifa, a heap of ruins.

"Twenty minutes' walk brought us to the principal mound. The absence of all vegetation enabled me to examine the remains with which it was covered. Broken pottery and fragments of bricks, both inscribed with the cuneiform character, were strewn on all sides. The Arabs watched my motions as I wandered to and fro, and observed with surprise the objects I had collected. They joined, however, in the search, and brought me handfuls of rubbish, amongst which I found with joy the fragment of a bas-relief. The material on which it was carved had been exposed to fire, and resembled, in every respect, the burnt gypsum of Khorsabad. Convinced from this discovery that sculptured remains must still exist in some part of the mound, I sought for a place where excavations might be commenced with a prospect of success. Awad led me to a piece of alabaster which appeared above the soil. We could not remove it, and, on digging downward, it proved to be the upper part of a large slab. I ordered all the men to work around it, and they shortly uncovered a second slab to which it had been united. Continuing in the same line, we came upon a third; and, in the course of the morning, laid bare ten more, the whole forming a square, with one stone missing at the north-west corner. It was evident that the top of a chamber had been discovered, and that the gap was its entrance."—P. 44.

From this time Mr. Layard continued to discover similar chambers in the mounds, lined with sculptured slabs and bas-reliefs in alabaster, and containing fragments of pottery and ivory ornaments.

* British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte.

The plans of the chambers thus excavated are given in the volumes, together with wood engravings of many of the principal bas-reliefs and inscriptions,—for most of which we must refer the reader to the work itself; since, without making our article entirely pictorial, it would be a waste of space to attempt a description of them.

The work was not prosecuted, however, without many discouragements. The chief of these arose from the cupidity or stupidity of Mohammed Pasha, the governor of the province of Mosul, of whom we have a flattering portrait.

“The appearance of his excellency was not prepossessing, but it matched his temper and conduct. Nature had placed hypocrisy beyond his reach. He had one eye and one ear; he was short and fat, deeply marked by the small-pox, uncouth in gestures, and harsh in voice.”—P. 39.

One of this functionary's expedients to prevent working at the mounds, was to cover them with false graves of true believers, which could not be disturbed. The hindrance from this cause was so great that our antiquarian was finally obliged, he says, to “come to an understanding” on the subject with Daoud Agha, the captain of the irregular troops, who was the chief executive officer in the vicinity.

At length, in the middle of December, the obnoxious Pasha was deposed, and Hafiz Pasha appointed in his stead,—Ismail Pasha, a popular general, acting as regent until he could reach his government. This change occasioned a commotion in the country, which interrupted Mr. Layard's researches. He went to Bagdad, and did not return till the beginning of January, when he found the new governor more friendly. Interruptions arose, however, from other quarters, so that he did not fairly commence operations at the ruins till the middle of February, though his agents continued at work, with considerable success, in his absence, bringing to light “fragments of sculpture and inscriptions, with much entire pottery and inscribed bricks.”

But, soon after recommencing their labours, the party began to make more important discoveries, the account of which forms one of the most interesting parts of the book.

“On the morning following I rode to the encampment of Sheikh Abd-urrahman, and was returning to the mound, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. ‘Hasten, O Bey,’ exclaimed one of them,—‘hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;’ and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents.

“On reaching the ruins I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen, who had already seen me, as I approached, standing near a heap

of baskets and cloaks. Whilst Awad advanced, and asked for a present to celebrate the occasion, the Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of the figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those of Khorsabad and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm, yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art, scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period. The cap had three horns, and, unlike that of the human-headed bulls hitherto found in Assyria, was rounded and without ornament at the top.



THE WINGED BULL.

"I was not surprised that the Arabs had been amazed and terrified at this apparition. It required no stretch of imagination to conjure up the most strange fancies. This gigantic head, blanched with age, thus rising from the bowels of the earth, might well have belonged to one of those fearful beings which are pictured in the traditions of the country, as appearing to mortals, slowly ascending from the regions below. One of the workmen, on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket and run off towards Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him."

* * * * *

"I now ordered a trench to be dug due south from the head, in the expectation of finding a corresponding figure, and before night-fall reached the object of my search, about twelve feet distant. Engaging two or three men to sleep near the sculptures, I returned to the village and celebrated the day's discovery by a slaughter of sheep, of which all the Arabs near partook. As some wandering musicians chanced to be at Selamiyah, I sent for them, and dances were kept up during the greater part of the night. On the following morning Arabs from the other side of the Tigris, and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, congregated on the mound. Even the women could not repress their curiosity, and came in crowds with their children from afar. My Cawass was stationed during the day in the trench, into which I would not allow the multitude to descend."

* * * * *

"I ascertained by the end of March the existence of a second pair of winged human-headed lions, differing from those previously discovered in form, the human shape being continued to the waist and furnished with arms. In one hand each figure carried a goat or stag, and in the other, which hung down by the side, a branch with three flowers. They formed a northern entrance into the chamber of which the lions previously described were the southern portal. I completely uncovered the latter, and found them to be entire. They were about twelve feet in height, and the same number in length. The body and limbs were admirably portrayed; the muscles and bones, although strongly developed, to display the strength of the animal, showed at the same time a correct knowledge of its anatomy and form. Expanded wings sprang from the shoulder and spread over the back; a knotted girdle, ending in tassels, encircled the loins. These sculptures, forming an entrance, were partly in full and partly in relief. The head and fore-part, facing the chamber, were in full; but only one side of the rest of the slab was sculptured, the back being placed against the wall of sun-dried bricks. That the spectator might have both a perfect front and side view of the figures, they were furnished with five legs; two were carved on the end of the slab to face the chamber, and three on the side. The relief of the body and three limbs was high and bold, and the slab was covered, in all parts not occupied by the image, with inscriptions in the cuneiform character. These magnificent specimens of Assyrian art were in perfect preservation; the most minute lines in the details of the wings and in the ornaments had been retained with their original freshness. Not a character was wanting in the inscriptions."—Vol. i, p. 75.

The season was now far advanced, and we should do great injustice to Mr. Layard to omit quoting some of the descriptions of natural scenery, which are to us no less interesting than the narrative of his explorations.

"When I returned in the evening, after the labour of the day, I often sat at the door of my tent, and giving myself up to the full enjoyment of that calm and repose which are imparted to the senses by such scenes as these, I gazed listlessly on the varied groups before me. As the sun went down behind the low hills which separate the river from the desert—even their rocky sides had struggled to emulate the verdant clothing of the plain—its receding rays were gradually withdrawn, like a transparent veil of light, from the landscape. Over the pure cloudless sky was the glow of the last light. The great mound threw its dark shadow far across the plain. In the distance, and beyond the Zab, Keshaf, another venerable ruin, rose indistinctly into the evening mist. Still more distant, and still more indistinct, was a solitary hill overlooking the ancient city of Arbela. The Kurdish Mountains, whose snowy summits cherished the dying sunbeams, yet struggled with the twilight. The bleating of sheep and lowing of cattle, at first faint, became louder as the flocks returned from their pastures, and wandered among the tents. Girls hurried over the greensward to seek their father's cattle, or crouched down to milk those which had returned alone to their well-remembered folds. Some were coming from the river, bearing the replenished pitcher on their heads or shoulders; others, no less graceful in their form, and erect in their carriage, were carrying the heavy load of long grass which they had cut in the meadows. Sometimes a party of horsemen might have been seen in the distance slowly crossing the plain, the tufts of ostrich feathers which topped their long spears showing darkly against the evening sky. They would ride up to my tent, and give me the usual salutation, 'Peace be with you, O Bey,' or, 'Allah Aienak, God help you.' Then driving the end of their lances into the ground, they would spring from their mares, and fasten their halters to the still quivering weapons.

Seating themselves on the grass, they related deeds of war and plunder, or speculated on the site of the tents of Sofuk, until the moon rose, when they vaulted into their saddles and took the way of the desert.

"The plain now glittered with innumerable fires. As the night advanced, they vanished one by one, until the landscape was wrapped in darkness and in silence, only disturbed by the barking of the Arab dog."—Vol. i, pp. 82, 83.

The discoveries made at the mounds had created such a sensation at Mosul, that some time before this the Pasha had thought best to have the work suspended. Mr. Layard, meanwhile, had written to Sir Stratford Canning, to procure for him a *firman*, or viziral letter, from the Porte, authorizing its continuance, and securing him against further interruption. While waiting for its arrival, he took advantage of the time to visit Sofuk, the Sheikh of the great Arab tribe of Shammar, which occupies nearly the whole of Mesopotamia. This journey gives rise to some of his most picturesque descriptive passages, most of which are so excellent that we are in doubt whether to withhold them entirely, or to curtail them within the limits of our review. The day after leaving Mosul their caravan passed "the low lime-stone hills which, broken into a thousand rocky valleys, form a barrier between the Tigris and the plains of Mesopotamia:—"

"We now found ourselves in the desert, or rather wilderness; for at this time of the year nature could not disclose a more varied scene, or a more luxuriant vegetation. We trod on an interminable carpet, figured by flowers of every hue. Nor was water wanting; for the abundant rains had given reservoirs to every hollow, and to every ravine. Their contents, owing to the nature of the soil, were brackish, but not unwholesome. Clusters of black tents were scattered, and flocks of sheep and camels wandered over the plain. Those of our party who were well mounted urged their horses through the meadows, pursuing the herds of gazelles, or the wild boar, skulking in the long grass. Although such scenes as these may be described, the exhilaration caused by the air of the desert in spring, and the feeling of freedom arising from the contemplation of its boundless expanse, must have been experienced before they can be understood. The stranger, as well as the Arab, feels the intoxication of the senses which they produce. From their effects upon the wandering son of Ishmael, they might well have been included by the Prophet amongst those things forbidden to the true believer."—Vol. i, pp. 86, 87.

After two or three days' wandering, they at length came upon the encampment of Sofuk:—

"We started early in the morning, and took the direction pointed out by Khalaf. Our view was bounded to the east by a rising ground. When we reached its summit, we looked down upon a plain, which appeared to swarm with moving objects. We had come upon the main body of the Shammar. It would be difficult to describe the appearance of a large tribe, like that we now met, when migrating to new pastures. We soon found ourselves in the midst of wide-spreading flocks of sheep and camels. As far as the eye could reach, to the right, to the left, and in front, still the same moving crowd. Long lines of asses and bullocks, laden with black tents; huge caldrons and variegated carpets; aged women and men, no longer able to walk, tied on the heap of

domestic furniture; infants crammed into saddle-bags, their tiny heads thrust through the narrow opening, balanced on the animal's back by kids or lambs tied on the opposite side; young girls clothed only in the close-fitting Arab shirt, which displayed rather than concealed their graceful forms; mothers with their children on their shoulders; boys driving flocks of lambs; horsemen armed with their long tufted spears, scouring the plain on their fleet mares; riders urging their dromedaries with their short hooked sticks, and leading their high-bred steeds by the halter; colts galloping amongst the throng; high-born ladies seated in the centre of huge wings, which extend like those of a butterfly from each side of the camel's hump, and are no less gaudy and variegated;—such was the motley crowd through which we had to wend our way for several hours. Our appearance created a lively sensation; the women checked our horses; the horsemen assembled round us, and rode by our side; the children yelled and ran after the Franks.”—Vol. i, pp. 90, 91.

The following portrait of the favourite wife of the Shammar chief-tain gives an idea of the “latest fashion” in the Desert:—

“Of the three ladies now forming his harem, the chief was Amsha, a lady celebrated in the song of every Arab of the desert, for her beauty and noble blood. She was daughter of Hassan, Sheikh of the Tai, a tribe tracing its origin from the remotest antiquity, and one of whose chiefs, Hatem, her ancestor, is a hero of Eastern romance. Sofuk had carried her away by force from her father; but had always treated her with great respect. From her rank and beauty she had earned the title of ‘Queen of the Desert.’ Her form, traceable through the thin shirt which she wore like other Arab women, was well proportioned and graceful. She was tall in stature and fair in complexion. Her features were regular, and her eyes dark and brilliant. She had undoubtedly claims to more than ordinary beauty; to the Arabs she was perfection, for all the resources of their art had been exhausted to complete what nature had begun. Her lips were dyed deep blue, her eyebrows were continued in indigo until they united over the nose, her cheeks and forehead were spotted with beauty marks, her eye-lashes darkened by kohl; and on her legs and bosom could be seen the tattooed ends of flowers and fanciful ornaments, which were carried in festoons and network over her whole body. Hanging from each ear, and reaching to her waist, was an enormous ear-ring of gold, terminating in a tablet of the same material, carved and ornamented with four turquoises. Her nose was also adorned with a prodigious gold ring, set with jewels, of such ample dimensions that it covered the mouth, and was to be removed when the lady ate. Ponderous rows of strung beads, Assyrian cylinders, fragments of coral, agates, and parti-coloured stones, hung from her neck; loose silver rings encircled her wrists and ankles, making a loud jingling as she walked. Over her blue shirt was thrown, when she issued from her tent, a coarse striped cloak, and a common black handkerchief was tied round her head.”—Vol. i, pp. 98, 99.

From this visit to the Shammar tribe, Mr. Layard returned to Nimroud, towards the middle of spring. Two men only had been employed at the ruins during his absence. The Christian families of Mosul being anxious to see the sculptures, he chose this time, before the heat of summer, to gratify their curiosity, by giving a grand entertainment at the scene of his labours. All the neighbouring Arabs were also invited, out of policy, and the festivities, celebrated with war and other national dances, and the recitations of jesters,

occupied three days. This occasion established Mr. Layard's reputation among the Arabs, being talked of among them as a great event long after.

Meanwhile Hafir Pasha, in whose stead Ismail Pasha now governed the province, having received a more lucrative post, had sold it to Tahyar Pasha. Early in May this new governor came to Mosul. Mr. Layard, with suitable letters of introduction, found him friendly to his projects. He describes him as "a perfect Turkish gentleman of the old school." But our antiquarian's means were now limited, and the heat of summer was becoming almost intolerable. Still he prosecuted the work with a small party, and continued to make valuable discoveries. About this time came the viziral letter, for which he had written to his embassy, fully securing him in the prosecution of his labours.

He now ventured, with a few workmen, to examine the mound of Kouyunjik, opposite Mosul, where M. Botta had made his researches. In this he says he met with no opposition, except "from the French Consul, who claimed the ruins as French property." If M. Botta, whom he everywhere mentions with respect, was still the French Consul, and continuing, or intending to continue, his own successful examinations of that mound, it would perhaps have been more courteous in Mr. Layard, who elsewhere expresses himself under obligations to him, to allow him the rights of a first discoverer. This, however, is a question for antiquaries, who are notorious for a disregard of the tenth commandment. The mound was certainly a temptation, having been generally supposed by travellers to mark the true site of Nineveh. Mr. Layard, after working at it long enough to convince himself that the remains here were of a more recent epoch than those of Nimroud, returned thither, and concentrated his whole force, now about thirty men, chiefly Arabs, at the latter place. Here they continued to make discoveries of objects of interest, sculptured figures, similar in execution to the one of which we have already inserted the description, bas-reliefs and inscriptions, &c., until the end of summer, when Mr. Layard had a large collection of these curiosities packed and floated down the Tigris to Bagdad, whence they were placed on boats to Busrah in August. From thence most of them have since been exported to the British Museum.

While this was accomplishing, our author's health began to suffer from exposure to the sun, and from the labour of superintending the excavations, drawing the sculptures, and copying the inscriptions. He was obliged to pass many hours daily in the trenches, where the thermometer ranged from 112° to 115° in the shade, and the hot

winds came from the desert like blasts from a furnace. At Mosul, where he retired for a week, the houses are furnished with sardaubs, or cellars, in which the inhabitants spend their days during the summer months, ascending to their flat roofs at sunset. He returned to Nimroud in the middle of August; but being again obliged to relinquish his labours from illness, he determined to visit the Tiyari Mountains, inhabited by the Nestorians, whom he styles Chaldaean Christians, and to return to Mosul in September, when the violence of the heat had abated.

Accordingly, making up a small party, he sat out on the 28th of August, well provided with orders from the Pasha to the Turkish authorities and Kurdish chiefs, and from Mar Shamoun, the patriarch of the Nestorians, to the Meleks and priests of those districts. The country through which they journeyed was mountainous, and though fertile in the valleys, thinly populated. The whole of the Nestorian district had been repeatedly ravaged by the Kurds, and especially by the Kurdish chief, Beder Khan Bey, who, in 1843,* massacred nearly 10,000 of the inhabitants in cold blood, and carried away large numbers of girls and children as slaves. The history of these cruelties is already familiar to our ears. Mr. Layard adds to their melancholy interest, by taking us anew over the scenes of them. Almost his whole tour in this region consists of journeyings from one ravaged village to another, hearing the same tale of wo, and seeing everywhere new evidences of pillage. He thus describes one of their principal villages:—

“On the morning following our arrival, I went with Yakoub Rais to visit the village. The trees and luxuriant crops had concealed the desolation of the place, and had given to Asheetha, from without, a flourishing appearance. As I wandered, however, through the lanes, I found little but ruins. A few houses were rising from the charred heaps; the greater part of the sites, however, were without owners, the whole family having perished. Yakoub pointed out, as we went along, the former dwellings of wealthy inhabitants, and told me how and where they had been murdered. A solitary church had been built since the massacre, the foundations of others were seen amongst the ruins. The pathways were still blocked up by the trunks of trees cut down by the Kurds. Water-courses, once carrying fertility to many gardens, were now empty and dry; and the lands which they had irrigated were left naked and unsown. I was surprised at the proofs of the industry and activity of the few surviving families, who had returned to the village, and had already brought a large portion of the land into cultivation.”

“I walked to the ruins of the school and dwelling-house, built by the American missionaries during their short sojourn in the mountains. These buildings had been the cause of much jealousy and suspicion to the Kurds. They stand upon the summit of an isolated hill, commanding the whole valley. A position less ostentatious and proportions more modest might certainly have

* See Miss. Herald for Nov. 1843, and Feb. and March, 1844.

been chosen; and it is surprising that persons so well acquainted with the character of the tribes amongst whom they had come to reside, should have been thus indiscreet. They were, however, most zealous and worthy men; and had their plans succeeded, I have little doubt that they would have conferred signal benefits on the Nestorian Chaldæans. I never heard their names mentioned by the Tiyyari, and most particularly that of Dr. Grant, without expressions of profound respect, amounting almost to veneration."—Vol. i, pp. 154–157.

With Christian readers in this country, to whom the character of Dr. Grant is known, this testimony of Mr. Layard's will entitle him to respect.

The natural features of these regions are often finely described.

"It was mid-day before we reached the foot of the mountain dividing us from the district of Baz. The pass we had to cross is one of the highest in the Chaldaean country, and at this season there was snow upon it. The ascent was long, steep, and toilsome. We were compelled to walk, and even without our weight, the mules could scarcely climb the acclivity. But we were well rewarded for our labour when we gained the summit. A scene of extraordinary grandeur opened upon us. At our feet stretched the valley of Baz,—its villages and gardens but specks in the distance. Beyond the valley, and on all sides of us, was a sea of mountains—peaks of every form and height, some snow-capped, others bleak and naked; the farthestmost rising in the distant regions of Persia. I counted nine distinct mountain ranges. Two vast rocks formed a kind of gateway on the crest of the pass, and I sat between them for some minutes, gazing upon the sublime prospect before us.

"The descent was rapid and dangerous, and so precipitous that a stone might almost have dropped on the church of Ergub, first visible like a white spot underneath us."—Vol. i, p. 180.

We pass over many accounts of massacres and ravages contained in the narrative, and also the history of the Nestorians, to which our author devotes an entire chapter. American readers are probably better acquainted with the whole subject than those for whom the work was written; and if it were otherwise, it would require a separate article to enlighten them. The last great massacre of the unfortunate Nestorians occurred but a few days after Mr. Layard's return to Mosul; nearly half the population were cut off; three hundred women and children were slain in the pass to Baz, of which we have just quoted his description: the Porte undertook its expedition against Beder Khan, who was taken and sent to Candia; and the once fertile and Christian district is now, through the inscrutable providence of Heaven, almost as desolate as the ruins of the cities of Assyria.

A few days after Mr. Layard's return from the Nestorian district he was invited by a chief of the Yezidis, or Worshippers of the Devil, to visit a tribe of that remarkable sect, on the occasion of their great periodical feast. Their principal village is about a day's journey north from Mosul. They are held in great contempt by

all good Mussulmen, but Mr. Layard found nothing in their ceremonies so objectionable as had been represented. Their tenets afford one more instance of the perversity with which poor humanity persists in being "wise above what is written."

They believe Satan to be the chief of the angels, now enduring punishment for rebellion to the Divine will, but omnipotent, and finally to be restored to his original estate. He is to be conciliated and revered; for as he has now the means of doing evil to men, so will he hereafter be able to reward them. Next to Satan, though inferior to him in power and wisdom, are seven archangels,—Gabrail, Michail, Raphail, Azrail, Dedrail, Azrapheel, and Shemkeel,—who have great influence over the world. Christ was also a great angel, who had taken the form of man. He did not die on the cross, but ascended to heaven.

They hold the Old Testament in great reverence, and believe in the cosmogony of Genesis, the deluge, and other events recorded in the Bible. They do not reject the New Testament or the Koran, but venerate them less. Mohammed they consider a prophet, as Abraham and the patriarchs. They expect a second coming of Christ. They baptize like Christians, circumcise like Mohammedans, and reverence the sun like the Sabæans. They are accustomed to kiss the object upon which the first sunbeams fall. For fire, as symbolic, they have nearly the same reverence; they never spit into it, but often pass their hands through the flame, kiss them, and rub them over their right eye-brow, or sometimes the whole face. The colour blue is to them an abomination.

After his return from this visit, Mr. Layard went on an expedition, with the Pasha, into the country of Sinjar, which lies several days' journey to the westward from Mosul. On this excursion he witnessed the destruction of a Yezidi village by the Turks.

Returning at length to Mosul, (for we have not space to follow him in all his wanderings,) he found letters from England, informing him that Sir Stratford Canning had presented the sculptures sent thither, and assigned the powers conferred by the viziral letter, to the British government; and that the British Museum had received a grant of funds for continuing the researches at Nimroud and elsewhere. The grant was small, but Mr. Layard concluded to accept the office of superintending the excavations, resolving to economize as much as possible, and obtain as complete a collection of Assyrian antiquities as could be procured with the means. He recommenced the excavations at Nimroud on a larger scale on the first of November.

The six weeks succeeding were the most prosperous and fruitful

of any that passed during his researches, and by the middle of December a second cargo of sculptures, bas-reliefs, &c., was ready to be sent to Bagdad. On Christmas-day he had the satisfaction of seeing a raft bearing twenty-three cases floated down the river. A short time before this, Tahyar Pasha, who had shown him so much kindness, died, and his secretary was appointed regent in his stead. The viziral letter, however, proved a sufficient protection, and he went on with his labours as before. He continued the work at Nimroud till the middle of May, 1847, making interesting discoveries almost daily. His mode of life, his manner of controlling the Arabs, their peculiarities, &c., are picturesquely sketched in this part of his narrative, along with the descriptions of his discoveries.

In the early part of the spring he took the opportunity of the presence of a powerful friendly tribe to visit the ruins at Kalah Shergat, on the western bank of the Tigris, about fifty miles below Nimroud, rivalling those at the latter place in extent. The principal mound here is one of the largest in Assyria; in some parts it is nearly a hundred feet in height, and pacing round it gave a circumference of 4,685 yards, or nearly three miles. Nearly in the centre of the north side of it rises a high conical mound, at the base of which is a wall of hewn stone, with battlements and gradines, such as are depicted in the Nimroud bas-reliefs, still existing. Mr. Layard does not, however, attempt to connect these ruins with any ancient city whose name occurs in the sacred books, or has been preserved by ancient geographers. The chief discovery here was of a mutilated sitting figure in black basalt, the seat or base on three sides covered with inscriptions, like those at Nimroud,—the only entire figure or statue found in all the ruins. This he has since had transported to Bagdad, and it is probably ere this in the British Museum.

Among the sculptures discovered at Nimroud were thirteen pairs of gigantic winged human-headed bulls and lions, similar to the one of which we have quoted the description; as these were peculiar to the Assyrian ruins, Mr. Layard was anxious to have specimens of them, and he finally succeeded in sending two of the smallest and best preserved to Busrah. For the account of the difficulties of this undertaking, and the ingenious manner in which they were overcome, we must refer the reader to the concluding chapters of his narrative, which are no less interesting than those from which we have quoted. His account of this part of his labours closes with a spirited sketch of the scene of them at the time of his departure:—

“We will descend into the principal trench, by a flight of steps rudely cut into the earth, near the western face of the mound. As we approach it, we

find a party of Arabs bending on their knees, and intently gazing at something beneath them. Each holds his long spear, tufted with ostrich feathers, in one hand; and in the other the halter of his mare, which stands patiently behind him. The party consists of a Bedouin Sheikh from the desert, and his followers; who, having heard strange reports of the wonders of Nimroud, have made several days' journey to remove their doubts, and satisfy their curiosity. He rises as he hears us approach, and if we wish to escape the embrace of a very dirty stranger, we had better at once hurry into the trenches.

"We descend about twenty feet, and suddenly find ourselves between a pair of colossal lions, winged and human-headed, forming a portal. I have already described my feelings when gazing for the first time on these majestic figures. Those of the reader would probably be the same, particularly if caused by the reflection, that before those wonderful forms Ezekiel, Jonah, and others of the prophets stood, and Sennacherib bowed; that even the patriarch Abraham himself may possibly have looked upon them.

"In the subterraneous labyrinth which we have reached, all is bustle and confusion. Arabs are running about in different directions; some bearing baskets filled with earth, others carrying the water-jars to their companions. The Chaldeans or Tiyyari, in their striped dresses and curious conical caps, are digging with picks into the tenacious earth, raising a dense cloud of fine dust at every stroke. The wild strains of Kurdish music may be heard occasionally issuing from some distant part of the ruins, and if they are caught by the parties at work, the Arabs join their voices in chorus, raise the war-cry, and labour with renewed energy. Leaving behind us a small chamber, in which the sculptures are distinguished by a want of finish in the execution, and considerable rudeness in the design of the ornaments, we issue from between the winged lions, and enter the remains of the principal hall. On both sides of us are sculptured gigantic winged figures; some with the heads of eagles, others entirely human, and carrying mysterious symbols in their hands. To the left is another portal, also formed by winged lions. One of them has, however, fallen across the entrance, and there is just room to creep beneath it. Beyond this portal is a winged figure, and two slabs with bas-reliefs; but they have been so much injured that we can scarcely trace the subject upon them. Farther on there are no traces of wall, although a deep trench has been opened. The opposite side of the hall has also disappeared, and we only see a high wall of earth. On examining it attentively, we can detect the marks of masonry; and we soon find that it is a solid structure built of bricks of unbaked clay, now of the same colour as the surrounding soil, and scarcely to be distinguished from it.

"The slabs of alabaster, fallen from their original position, have, however, been raised; and we tread in the midst of a maze of small bas-reliefs, representing chariots, horsemen, battles, and sieges. Perhaps the workmen are about to raise a slab for the first time; and we watch with eager curiosity, what new event of Assyrian history, or what unknown custom or religious ceremony, may be illustrated by the sculpture beneath.

"Having walked about one hundred feet amongst these scattered monuments of ancient history and art, we reach another doorway formed by gigantic winged bulls in yellow limestone. One is still entire; but its companion has fallen, and is broken into several pieces--the great human head is at our feet."

* * * * *

"As the ravine bounds the ruins on this side, we must return to the yellow bulls. Passing through the entrance formed by them, we enter a large chamber surrounded by eagle-headed figures: at one end of it is a doorway guarded by two priests or divinities, and in the centre another portal with winged bulls. Whichever way we turn, we find ourselves in the midst of a nest of rooms; and without an acquaintance with the intricacies of the place, we should soon lose ourselves in this labyrinth. The accumulated rubbish being generally

left in the centre of the chambers, the whole excavation consists of a number of narrow passages, panelled on one side with slabs of alabaster, and shut in on the other by a high wall of earth, half buried, in which may here and there be seen a broken vase, or a brick painted with brilliant colours. We may wander through these galleries for an hour or two, examining the marvellous sculptures or the numerous inscriptions that surround us. Here we meet long rows of kings, attended by their eunuchs and priests,—there, lines of winged figures, carrying fir-cones and religious emblems, and seemingly in adoration before the mystic tree. Other entrances, formed by winged lions and bulls, lead us into new chambers. In every one of them are fresh objects of curiosity and surprise. At length, wearied, we issue from the buried edifice by a trench on the opposite side to that by which we entered, and find ourselves again upon the naked platform. We look around in vain for any traces of the wonderful remains we have just seen, and are half inclined to believe that we have dreamed a dream, or have been listening to some tale of Eastern romance.

“Some, who may hereafter tread on the spot when the grass again grows over the ruins of the Assyrian palaces, may indeed suspect that I have been relating a vision.”—Vol. ii, pp. 89–93.

Mr. Layard left Nimroud in the middle of May, and having expended the funds intrusted to him by the British Museum, and made the necessary preparations, took his final departure from Mosul for Constantinople on the 24th of June. With this ends his personal narrative,—one of the most interesting that has lately appeared from the press. Without pretending to elegance or any striking quality of style, it is perspicuous, and bears the assurance of good sense and truth, while the novelty of the scenes it describes is irresistibly alluring. It is fortunate that ruins so likely to illustrate hereafter many points and sayings in the Bible, should have been brought to the notice of the Christian public by a writer so well qualified to awaken a popular interest as Mr. Layard. In proof of the manner in which he executed his trust, and of the importance attached to his discoveries, the newspapers inform us that he has lately been appointed attaché to the British embassy to the Sublime Porte, and that the British Museum have appropriated \$15,000 for the continuance of the excavations at Nimroud and Kouyunjik under his supervision.

This fact, as well as the nature of the subject, and the absolute impossibility of showing, without occupying a great deal of space, how much he has thus far actually brought to light, must be our warrant for giving but a few words to Part II. of his book, wherein he treats of the results of his discoveries. The truth is, a great deal has certainly been discovered, but little that is definite; and the chief value of the whole is rather in the promise it gives of what we have yet to learn. Mr. Layard devotes much space to speculations concerning the cuneiform writing, or writing with arrow-headed letters, in which the Assyrian inscriptions are written; but the conclusion of the whole matter is, that he is unable to read it. When,

therefore, he assures us that certain odd-looking marks are the names of kings, we naturally wish to know how he "found it out," and what the names are. It would appear that here something had been withheld, either through his desire to reserve his discoveries until they are more complete, (as he has unquestionably a right to do,) or because the subject was thought to be above the comprehension of the general reader. When nothing definite is known, however, nothing definite can be communicated; and probably Mr. Layard's intention was simply to place before the reader the exact state of his own mind with regard to his discoveries—a condition of embryo knowledge where there are few clear ideas, but many indefinite suggestions and sanguine expectations pointing that way. If so, he has certainly succeeded. We read his speculations with interest, but in a state of doubt, and his conclusions remind one of the concluding chapter of "Rasselas," in which nothing is concluded. If he goes on with his labours, a few months may falsify all that the acutest conjecture might utter upon the subject at present. Upon the whole, therefore, and especially since he has resumed his explorations, it is deemed best to postpone criticism upon what he has accomplished until we hear from him again.

Only this is positively ascertained, that nothing has been yet discovered which does not directly harmonize with the Scripture accounts of the Assyrian cities. Their magnificence, of which the vastness of their ruins was before the only proof, is now confirmed by the exhuming of so many buried sculptures and bas-reliefs. In many other particulars they illustrate sayings and allusions in the Old Testament. Thus there is a coincidence between the sacred symbolical figures found among them, and those of the four living creatures seen in vision by the prophet Ezekiel, which is too remarkable to escape notice. "As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man and the face of a lion on the right side; and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four had also the face of an eagle." Also, "they had the hands of a man under their wings," and "their wings were joined one to another; they turned not when they went." It is impossible not to think of the winged bulls and lions, and the lion and eagle-headed figures found at Nimroud, in connexion with this passage. Also the "wheel in the middle of a wheel" will remotely suggest one of the emblems representing the supreme Deity. And more especially in the prophecy against Nineveh, Nahum ii, 11: "Where is the dwelling of the lions," &c., seems to be rendered intelligible by the constant occurrence of winged lions and lion-headed figures at Nimroud, and appears to us quite as striking an illustration of the sacred writings

as any of those adduced by Mr. Layard. The discovery of the use of colours on the sculptures and bas-reliefs explains Ezekiel xxiii, 14, 15. "If we take," says Mr. Layard, "the four great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four sides correspond pretty accurately with the four hundred and eighty stadia or sixty miles of the geographer, which make the three days' journey of the prophet." (Jonah iii, 3.) This conjecture is, to our apprehension, the more plausible, on account of the difficulty of accounting for the existence of the ruins in the shape of great isolated mounds.

Many other suggestions and indications will occur to Biblical students on reading these volumes, of customs and ceremonies elucidating passages in the prophets; and it would be more easy than profitable to fill a volume with them. There is a weakness in our minds which leads us to admit a connexion between similarities brought merely into juxta-position, but this kind of proof is only temporary; the understanding, lulled for awhile, awakens, restless, and finds nowhere to repose—nothing *established*. We have neither enlarged the boundaries of our knowledge nor gratified our faith; but, on the contrary, so far as our faith can be affected by such speculations, we have offended and weakened it. Hence, especially in the study of matters of history which come under the head of Biblical literature, we should be careful to deal only with facts and certainties. We should not only repress the natural eagerness to spy coincidences, but be particularly desirous not to seem too eager; lest we produce upon the cavilling the impression of "swift witnesses" in a court of justice. There is no need of our straining points and catching at motes of evidence to justify our belief in the Holy Scriptures; our religion should dwell beyond that, in the inner temple of the soul, where to doubt is not to live; it should be like the virtue of the Roman wife, above suspicion. And there is a certain irreverence in so doing which tends to bring religion into disrespect; it is as if one should go about defending the reputation of his mother or sisters by the cumulation of circumstantial evidence. The Word of God need not be timidly and anxiously supported by the word of man.

Not that we are not at liberty, however, to strengthen ourselves in the faith by all that research can show us of the past, or deny ourselves the pleasurable feeling we so involuntarily experience in having the scenes and events of the Bible brought, as it were, before our eyes; but simply that we should desire to accomplish these things nobly. When we have ascertained that the relic is genuine let us preserve it,—not before.

To apply these observations to Mr. Layard's discoveries, we would simply say that they do not as yet seem to present a sufficient body of clear, definite, historical *facts* to warrant our putting them forward as strong links in the great chain of evidence which surrounds the sacred Writings. We are not able, although they are in this view of the highest interest, and full of expectation, to *conclude* enough from them to enable us to hail them and reiterate them through the press and the pulpit, as we do, and ought to do, with other clearly ascertained historical matter bearing directly upon the Bible. And we ought to be especially cautious, for the reasons above given, how we make use of knowledge that is so weak to strengthen a faith that is not built upon sand, but founded on the Rock of ages.

In fine, we are yet, as regards Nineveh, just in the early twilight; her towers are yet desolate; the light over her is gray and dim, and all that we can discern by it is undefined and indistinct; but there are streaks which portend a coming brightness, and if the researches so happily begun are as prosperously continued, we may hope ere long to behold her in the clearer light of day.

ART. V.—REV. THOMAS CHALMERS.

Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D., LL. D. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, LL. D.

Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ. Daily Scripture Readings. In three vols., 12mo., pp. 422, 478, 426.

Horæ Biblicæ Sabbaticæ. Sabbath Scripture Readings. In two vols., 12mo., pp. 436, 507. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848-9.

WE have read few works lately that have moved us more than those which stand at the head of this article. It is not that they are eloquent; for, although they give us the dying notes of an eloquence that entranced thousands, the most gifted as well as the most humble, their characteristics are rather plainness and simplicity. It is not that they are learned; for, although they evince the marks of a ripe scholarship, and an extensive scientific culture, they add but little to our exegetical knowledge, and leave most of the *loca dubiæque vexata* of Scripture where they find them. They have many points of excellence, a charming *naïveté* of expression, a rare spirituality, a profound reverence for the revealed will of God, and rapt fervour of devotion at times, that betrays a heart burning with the living fire.

But we value these volumes mainly in their auto-biographical

character, as developments of the author's self,—often unconscious, yet, for that very reason, the more worthy of our reliance. In this respect they remind us continually of Augustine's Confessions. We knew the author before as an eloquent preacher, on whose lips the first minds of the age had hung enraptured; as a philosopher, whose high attainments had obtained for him a reputation which enrolled his name in that august list that appears on the register of the National Institute of France; and as an ecclesiastical statesman whose leadership was acknowledged by thousands, and whose name was identified with some of the most remarkable movements of the present age; but we never before knew him as a man,—as an humble, believing, child-like Christian,—as we know him from these volumes. It is this that throws around them a charm so inexpressible, and rivets us to their pages with so much delight. We are amazed when we think of the stupendous labours of this old man, for many years before his death; but we find the secret of this untiring energy in these volumes. It was the constancy and fervour of his communion with God, in the written Word, and at the throne of grace, that sustained his unflagging energies. In common with Alfred, Luther, Wesley, and every really great reformer, his strength, Antæus-like, was continually renewed, as he was thrown back on the rich maternal bosom from which he drew his earliest life.

These volumes constitute the first part of his posthumous works, now in process of publication under the supervision of his son-in-law, Rev. Dr. Hanna, the eloquent editor of the North British Review. The first three volumes are termed *Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ*, and contain his daily meditations on the Scriptures during the last seven or eight years of his life. They were not designed as a learned commentary, or an exercise in homiletics, nor even written for the benefit of others; but composed by the venerable author, as a devotional exercise for the benefit of his own soul. They were his first and readiest thoughts on the passage for the day, clothed in the first and readiest words that occurred to his mind. Hence he used but little exegetical apparatus, and endeavoured simply to bring his mind and heart into warm and living contact with the Word; to look back on the scenes of the olden time, the days of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, with his own eyes; and to gaze at the awful and glorious facts of revealed religion with an eye of light, and a heart of love. Whilst his method often diminishes the depth and value of his criticisms, it yet confers at times a freshness on his remarks that makes them like the first rich gushings of juice from the unpressed grapes.

The *Horæ Sabbaticæ* are Sabbath meditations on chapters of
FOURTH SERIES, VOL. I.—40

the Old and New Testaments in order. They rise into a loftier region of devotion, and contain a more absolute unveiling of the heart, than we find in the Daily Readings. During the author's lifetime they were kept sacredly from every eye but his own. We therefore find more frequent allusions to personal and domestic affairs—confessions of sins and tendencies to sin—that could only be made to God, and furnish rich material for a psychological study of this great man. It was, therefore, a matter of hesitation for a time whether they should be given to the public; but higher considerations than those of mere delicacy prevailed, and we are admitted to the most secret privacy of the man. We are allowed to lift the veil that hangs over the closet; to see this gifted spirit in rapt communion with Him who seeth in secret; to hear the broken groans and sobs of contrition with which he confessed the hidden evils of his heart; to see the sweet simplicity with which he bowed himself to the orderings of God's providence; and the earnestness with which he sought for light on the path of duty. We find him bringing his own frailties and passions; the state of his family; the West-Port Mission; the varying exigencies of the Free Church; American slavery; in a word, everything that lay on his mind,—directly to the great Source of wisdom and strength. We rejoice to see so noble a monument erected to his memory as this beautiful edition of his works, appearing simultaneously, in uniform style, on both sides of the Atlantic. It will be a fitter, and, we trust, a more enduring perpetuation of his name than the proudest mausoleum that ever greeted the sun.

As the name of Chalmers belongs now not to any one division of "the sacramental host," but to the whole Church, we embrace the occasion furnished by these volumes, to present some remarks on the life, character, and influence of this eminent man.

THOMAS CHALMERS was born in Anstruther, a small village in Fifeshire, on the Frith of Forth, March 17th, 1780. He was sent at an early age to the ancient University of St. Andrews, in his native county. During his academic career he manifested many of the traits of character that were afterwards developed on a wider stage of action. His untiring energy, his frank cordiality, his irresistible *bonhomie*, and his commanding superiority of intellect, were conspicuous among his compeers. His old landlady used to tell with great gusto his exploits among his fellow-students; settling by one cleaving word the dispute that had excited protracted wranglings.

There was early developed in his mind an intense love for physical science. Natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, bo-

tany, geology, conchology, &c., all shared his attention; but it was to mathematics, and especially to its application to astronomy, that his mind was most powerfully attracted. Nor were his excursions here merely those of an amateur. He studied these sciences deeply and thoroughly; and this early scientific training was manifest in all his subsequent intellectual development. His mathematical discipline gave accuracy, discrimination, and the power of patient, continuous thought, to a mind that would otherwise have run wild with excessive imagination; whilst the wonderful facts of natural science furnished the magnificent imagery, which his daring fancy often used with such brilliant effect. His mind was to celebrate the nuptials, or at least to publish the banns, between science and religion, and furnish in its own splendid attainments a prophetic instance of their future alliance. The great importance, therefore, of this prolonged courtship of the sciences, in fitting him for the great work of life, is very obvious.

There is no reason to believe that at this time he possessed more than a speculative acquaintance with religion. It was an age of coldness in the Church, and skepticism out of it,—with Principal Robertson as the type of the one, and David Hume of the other; and we cannot wonder that he, with so many others, had a form of godliness without any of its power. He had not received that fire-baptism that descended upon him with its rushing mighty power at a later period in life, and which sublimated the massy stores of his mind to a purity and splendour that attracted the world.

He was appointed mathematical tutor at St. Andrews about the time he attained his majority, and continued in this post until he was called to be a junior assistant to the minister of Cavers, in Roxburghshire. This position he soon exchanged for the rural charge of Kilmany, in his native county, near to St. Andrews, in May, 1803. Here he had ample leisure for his scientific pursuits; and could wander at will over the bleak hills of Fife, on botanical and geological excursions, startling the rude peasantry in the lonely glens with his hammer and box, as he sought for some rare flower or curious crystal. He soon reappeared in St. Andrews as a lecturer on chemistry. His first appearance as an author was in the great Leslie case,—that created at the time a deep excitement in Scotland. The chair of mathematics in the University of Edinburgh being vacant, among a great many candidates, (Chalmers himself being of the number,) there were two who rallied around them powerful parties. Dr. Macknight received the support of the clergy of Edinburgh; whilst Mr. Leslie was the candidate of the philosophical party. After a bitter and prolonged struggle, the philosophical party triumphed, and

Mr. Leslie was elected. During the pendency of the contest, Dugald Stewart published a pamphlet against the clerical party, containing a letter from Playfair, asserting the incompatibility of mathematical studies with the duties of a clergyman. This letter roused all the ire of young Chalmers, and provoked him to break a lance with the polished academic, who, having himself passed from the mathematical chair, seemed to furnish in his own case a refutation of his position, or lay himself open to the charge of unfaithfulness as a pastor, or incompetency as a professor. Accordingly, he published an anonymous pamphlet, assailing Playfair with no little asperity. This tract has never been reprinted, and is only referred to as a part of his history. It possesses his peculiarities of style in their most unpruned and exuberant form, and is pervaded by a fierce and unsanctified spirit. It is characteristic of the unhallowed state of the young pastor's soul, that he contended strenuously that "it required almost no consumption of intellectual effort" to discharge pastoral duty; and "that a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure, for the prosecution of any science in which his taste might dispose him to engage." The low estimate he evidently put upon the pastoral office, the appalling unconsciousness of its fearful responsibilities, his evident contempt for the office which he held uneasily as a means of subsistence, while his heart was engrossed with other pursuits, and the bitter, scornful, and sarcastic tone that pervades the whole production, furnish a melancholy picture of both the times and the man; a picture over which, when his eyes were opened, we doubt not he wept many a penitent tear.

His next work was on his favourite science, Political Economy; and entitled, "An Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources." The main principle of this work is, that taxation is no evil; a principle which is pushed to such an extravagant extent, that it becomes almost burlesque. The most important features which the work has for us are, the illustrations it gives of his character. Two points are especially prominent,—an intense dislike of the spirit of trade and the influence of commerce, and a burning military ardour.

His suspicion of the commercial spirit, although modified by subsequent experience, was never entirely removed. It reappears in the Commercial Discourses delivered amidst the merchant princes of Glasgow. It arose from a noble principle in his nature. Loving to look at objects in the light of their real value, and their relations to intellectual and spiritual concerns, he feared the debasing influence of that spirit which estimated everything by the commercial standard

of convertibility into pecuniary gain; and believed that the habits of mind engendered by the tricks and lotteries of traffic were essentially ignoble, and must degrade the souls of those who were drawn into this absorbing vortex.

His military ardour was, we presume, much more effectually moderated in after life, than his antipathy to the commercial spirit; but at this time it was very fervent. Fired by the spirit that was awaked all over Europe by the terrible career of Napoleon, it is not a matter of surprise that, with his heart so completely alive to mere worldly things, he should be fascinated by that dread element in them, then so imposing and powerful,—War. So strong was the martial spirit within him, that he was not content with mere paper exhibitions of it, in treatises on economics, but, minister as he was of the gospel of peace, he actually enlisted in a volunteer corps. On one occasion he visited a friend's house, at some distance from home, in his military costume; and it was so near the close of the week, he was easily persuaded to remain over the Sabbath and preach. This accordingly he did, in a garment of more clerical hue, belonging to his friend, which was terribly strained over the brawny shoulders of Chalmers; but on leaving the pulpit he escaped from its confining restraint to his own costume; and the amazement of the honest villagers, which began in the church, at his strange appearance in black, was completed as they saw his stalwart figure striding through their quiet streets on Sabbath evening, in a flame of scarlet. These eccentricities develop the same straight-forward directness of character, and the same indifference to mere appearances, that were afterwards exhibited in more moderate and unexceptionable forms.

His preaching at this period was, as might be expected, of a cold and superficial cast,—mere ethical disquisition, that played around the head without touching the heart. His dissertations were eloquent, and his displays of intellect prodigious; but they were powerless to the pulling down of the strongholds in the human heart. An amusing instance of the felt incongruity of these fulminations was exhibited in the same church that had witnessed the startling phenomena of the clerical red-coat. He was preaching from the text, "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup;" and descanting most vehemently on the perils of the generous juice of the grape, to a set of rustics whose highest source of inspiration was "honest John Barleycorn," or mountain dew. At length one of them, "puir daft Jean Pirie," who too often had a "drap i' the ee," and whose sense of the incongruity was quickened by a dim perception of an attack on her besetting frailty, after repeated paragraphs rounding off with the em-

phatic words, "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red in the cup," exclaimed, in a shrill voice that rose clear and startling above the thunder of Chalmers, "Red i' the cup! Troth an' it may be ony o' the colours o' the rainbow, for a' that the maist o' us see o't." Poor Jeanie could feel, in the dimness of her clouded mind, what the gifted preacher as yet had failed to see,—that these splendid declamations on mere morality played above the soul like an aurora, beautiful and glittering, but cold and powerless.

But a change was at hand; a change that was not only to give him new views of the Gospel, but was also to breathe into his whole nature a new energy, and transform him into one of the "few mighty," who are raised up by God in every age of the Church to do his work in human history. Hitherto, he knew nothing of the Gospel but its outer courts; the secret shrine and the incarnate mystery were hidden from his sight. But about the year 1809, he was engaged to write the article on Christianity for Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*. His heart was softened by the loss of a dear friend, and prepared for the reception of the good seed. In prosecuting the studies necessary for this article, he was led to examine the lives of the primitive Christians, the writings of modern apologists, and especially Wilberforce's *Practical View*. He began to perceive that there was something in Christianity which he had never yet comprehended. At this juncture he was laid on a sick-bed; and, by the blessing of God on the truth which had been brought in contact with his heart, and the counsels of a faithful Dissenting minister, the scales fell from his eyes, and he saw THE CROSS. He arose from his sick-bed a new creature. Immediately, conferring not with flesh and blood, he began fearlessly to proclaim the mighty change that had come over his spirit, to confess publicly his previous blindness, and to preach Christ crucified. The quiet parish of Kilmany was stirred to its remotest borders by the words of fire that came from lips so freshly touched with a living coal from the holy altar, and reformatory years of ethical orations had failed to produce, began rapidly to take place under the exhibition of the Gospel.

The fame of this wonderful transformation soon extended beyond his country parish, and acquired for him a metropolitan, and finally a national, reputation. He was accordingly, in 1815, invited by the Town Council of Glasgow to take charge of the Tron Church and parish in that city. It was here, perhaps, that the highest triumphs of his eloquence were achieved. He found a gay, skeptical, money-loving population, whose religious condition was a sort of cross between Blair's *Sermons* and Hume's *Essays*,—a barren, hybrid com-

promise between the minimum of piety and the maximum of sin, with enough of the one to kill conscience, and enough of the other to kill fear; with enough of Christianity to keep on good terms with the Church, and yet not enough to interrupt the most perfect understanding with the world.

But the thunder of Chalmers startled them from this dream of delusion. He came to them like one who had gazed on the unseen and the eternal, and was rapt in their awful and transforming visions into a higher element of life and power. The wind, the earthquake, the fire, and the still small voice, had passed before him; his slumbering soul had been startled under the juniper-tree, and he came among them instinct with a living spirit that could not easily be quenched. His scorching denunciations of a spirit wholly given to commercial idolatry; his brilliant vindications of the dignity and grandeur of evangelical religion; his vigorous assaults upon the cold and heartless formalities of the existing Christianity, and his restless activity in devising and prosecuting one scheme of active benevolence after another, gave a new impulse to society in Glasgow, which at length was felt throughout Scotland. The whole city was pervaded with his influence. Men began to feel that there was something in religion worthy the attention of others besides the doting and the dying; and something in Christianity of power and greatness that they had never before conceived. This splendid triumph in Glasgow was the beginning of that third reformation in Scotland, of which the Free Church is so magnificent a monument.

In 1823 he was transferred to the chair of moral philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. To those who knew the stagnant condition of the Scottish universities at this period, so graphically described by Carlyle in his *Sartor Resartus*, the appointment of the *Jupiter Tonans* of the Tron Church excited the utmost amazement. It was as if the glaciers of Grindenwald had sent for Vesuvius,—so cold and petrified was the one, so fiery and explosive was the other. The effect of this movement was soon seen in the ethical class-room, which, from presenting a beggarly account of empty benches, soon became crowded with classes of eager and enthusiastic students. Throwing aside the thread-bare *loci communes* of Aristotle and Seneca, Hutchison and Smith, and all the previous writers who had anatomized the science of ethics, and furnished students with its polished bones, he brought it forth warm and living from the Gospel, a new creation of beauty and light. Instead of being, at best, a mere arena for cold dialectics, and too often a school for secret skepticism, the ethical class became a new and powerful organ of Christianity. Under his leadership it became a moral gymnasium, where

the spirit of purity and love, the spirit of active benevolence and the spirit of missions, were breathed into the hearts of men, who are now toiling amid the mists and moors of Scotland, the steaming and deadly jungles of the Ganges, and the burning plains of Africa. He was great as a lecturer, not because he made any new discovery, or established any new principle in ethics,—for in these respects he was greatly surpassed by Reid, Stewart, and Brown,—but because he breathed the spirit of the Gospel, and his own earnest, enthusiastic spirit, into his academic labours. His lectures, therefore, instead of being dry and learned prelections, were rich combinations of the eloquence that blazed through his sermons, the humour that sparkled in his conversation, and the energy that pervaded his whole character. It was this rare union of qualities that enabled him to send forth an influence from the grass-grown streets of St. Andrews, unrivalled by that of the most gigantic spirits that had preceded him in the department of ethical philosophy.

Up to this point the influence of Chalmers on the Church of Scotland had been indirect, by means of his pastoral and academic position. Although this was by no means inconsiderable, it was yet greatly inferior to the direct influence he was destined to exert in the next station he was called to occupy. In 1828 the chair of Theology in the College of Edinburgh became vacant. This was, by common consent, the post of primacy in the Church of Scotland,—the summit of ecclesiastical elevation and influence in the National Establishment. To this position Chalmers was called by the unanimous suffrage of the Church, and the admitted claim of pre-eminent qualifications. It was here that he exerted his most direct influence on the national Church, moulding and informing the character of her ministry, infusing his own earnest spirit into them, and preparing them for the eventful scenes that were before them. In this post he continued to labour until the great disruption of the Establishment, and in his labours there we find much of the genesis of that memorable exodus. In order fully to comprehend what we regard as one of the great works of his life, it will be necessary to glance briefly at the history of the Church of Scotland.

There have always existed in the Christian Church two distinct elements of character, arising from the mingling of regenerate and unregenerate men in its organization. These elements have manifested themselves variously, and received different appellations, but have always been essentially the same,—whether they appeared as the religion of form and the religion of spirit; the religion of tradition and the religion of Scripture; or the religion of a cold morality, and the religion of a living piety in the heart.

In the Church of Scotland one of these elements was strengthened by the latitudinarian measures of William of Orange, which enlarged the boundaries of ecclesiastical organization, so as to include the most opposite and irreconcilable opinions, and to admit to a share in the government of the Church those who were avowedly and bitterly hostile to its principles. The two elements became embodied in what were termed the Moderate and Evangelical parties. The radical difference between these parties is the same that exists between High and Low Church Episcopacy, Jesuitism and Jansenism, and all similar dualisms that have at various times existed in the Christian Church,—a difference that touches the very vitals of Christianity. The principal point, however, about which the difference was manifested, was the subject of patronage. The one party affirmed that the absolute power of imposing a spiritual guide upon a congregation, vested in a man who might be an atheist and a scoffer, and who might use that power for the subversion of the Church, was unreasonable and unscriptural, alien to the very nature of the Church, and at variance with the explicit terms on which the Church of Scotland consented to the union. The other party contended that it was founded in justice and expediency, and hence must be maintained.

This discussion obviously resolved itself into one on the nature of the Church, the proper limitations of its authority, and the legal relations existing between it and the State. On these points three distinct theories had been promulgated among those who recognized the propriety of some connexion between the Church and the State. The first was the theory of Popery, which held that the Church was supreme in civil as well as sacred things, and the State bound to submit to its jurisdiction. The second, and antipode of this, was what, from the name of its first expounder, was termed Erastianism; which taught that the State was supreme in spiritual as well as in civil affairs, and that a distinct government in the Church was anomalous and absurd. The third, which was the mean of these extremes, held that Jesus Christ was the only Head of the Church; that he had given her a distinct government, or, in other words, vested in her the inherent right of governing within her own sphere;—a right which she could not yield without unfaithfulness to her Head; that in conducting the affairs of religion she was a co-ordinate power with the State, supreme in spiritual things as the State was in civil; that whilst the State had rightful authority *circa sacra*, that is, in the temporalities of the Church, such as providing edifices, assessing and collecting stipends, &c., it had no power *in sacris*, that is, in the purely spiritual functions of the Church, such as de-

termining rights of membership, ordaining, installing, and deposing ministers, &c., and that the State could not more rightfully assume the spiritual prerogatives of the Church, than the Church could the powers of the State. The second of these theories was held substantially by the Moderate, and the third by the Evangelical, party. The Moderates contended, that when a minister was regularly presented by the patron, whatever objections the people might urge, or however unfit the Presbytery might deem him for the office, they were yet bound to induct him; and that if they refused to do so, they could be fined and otherwise punished by the civil court. The Evangelicals held, on the contrary, that whilst the civil courts had entire control of the temporalities, and could award the buildings, glebe, and stipends, either to the patron or the presentee, if the Presbytery refused to admit the call; yet they had no power to constrain the Presbytery to perform the spiritual acts of ordination and installation, contrary to their convictions of right and duty, and hence no right to fine or punish them for refusal to induct. They held that just as each State in our Federal Union is sovereign in its own sphere, and cannot in that sphere be coerced by the General Government; so the Church was independent and sovereign in the discharge of her spiritual functions, and that to force her to act or not to act within this sphere, was essentially tyranny and persecution.

Such, in brief, was the dispute that agitated the Church of Scotland for more than two hundred years. It was a struggle whether Christ or Cæsar should have the headship of the Church; whether the laws of God or the laws of man should be held supreme; and whether the Church should go forward and do her work as she had solemnly vowed to do it, or only at the bidding and by the sufferance of the civil power. The principles involved appeared in various forms and measures that arrayed the parties against each other. When the Evangelicals desired to send the Gospel to the heathen, the Moderates objected that it was contrary to Church order, fanatical, and reversing the proper order of things, by which civilization should precede Christianization. When the Evangelicals wished to confine the professor to his chair, and the pastor to his charge, alleging that each had a work demanding all his time; the Moderates insisted upon pluralities both of parishes and offices, alleging that the double duties could be easily performed. When the Evangelicals wished to open their pulpits to such men as Whitefield, the Wesleys, and Rowland Hill; the Moderates procured the passage of an ordinance forbidding all ministerial intercourse with any clergyman, not licensed and ordained by the Church of Scotland. When the Evangelicals endeavoured by Sabbath-schools and mission-

aries to reach the "outfield" and degraded population of the large cities and the highlands; the Moderates opposed these efforts as unauthorized by the civil power, and therefore tending to sedition. And when the Evangelicals established *quoad sacra* churches, that is, missionary churches that had no permanent endowment or legalized tithes for their support; the Moderates refused to recognize these churches as belonging to the Establishment, and refused to allow their pastors and elders to sit in any church court.

Such was the position of ecclesiastical affairs when Chalmers first appeared in the General Assembly, in 1816. Although before his conversion he had leaned to the Moderates, especially in the Leslie controversy, he now, with the ardent sympathies of his new heart, allied himself to that party most congenial to his awakened and active religious feelings. He accordingly identified himself openly and fully with the Evangelical party, by avowing his belief in the right of the people to be consulted in the appointment of their spiritual teachers. The Moderate party had at this time complete ascendancy, in consequence of the repeated secessions of Evangelical men from the Establishment. But the mind of Chalmers was one that looked not at the numbers holding an opinion, but at its truth, to determine his own course. Seizing, accordingly, the great principles of the spiritual independence of the Church, and her right to do the work assigned her by Christ, untrammelled by civil restraints, he bent all his energies to secure the recognition of these great truths. For twenty years he laboured to infuse his spirit and sentiments into the Church, and to induce her to assert the high prerogatives with which she was invested. At length his labours were crowned with success.

In 1834 the General Assembly passed what was termed *the veto act*, asserting that no minister should be forced upon a congregation, the majority of which formally declared their opposition to his settlement. Thus, after the struggle of a century, was the Moderate party defeated, and the long-contested principle of non-intrusion declared to be the supreme law of the Church. It was thus at length asserted that the State had not the right to force upon the Church her rulers and teachers, and that the consent of the people was essential to the validity of a call.

This act produced a deep sensation throughout Scotland, and an anxious looking for its results. A case soon arose to test its operation. The patron of the parish of Auchterarder presented a minister to its living, against whom an overwhelming majority of the congregation solemnly remonstrated. The Presbytery refused to proceed with the induction. The patron and presentee appealed

to the ecclesiastical courts, but they sustained the Presbytery. They then appealed to the civil tribunals, and obtained a decree of the court of session, by a vote of eight to five, pronouncing the veto-act illegal, and censuring the Presbytery for obeying it; and afterwards fining it £16,000 for doing what it had solemnly vowed to do,—obey its ecclesiastical superiors. An appeal was taken to the House of Lords, and the decision of the civil court sustained.

Here, then, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities were brought into direct conflict. Other cases soon occurred, involving the same principles; the Church of Scotland insisting that she should not be forced to perform spiritual acts by stress of civil power, and the Government insisting on the right to constrain her to these acts by fines and interdicts. Repeated attempts were made at compromise, by Dr. Chalmers on the part of the Church, and distinguished members of her majesty's cabinet on the part of the Government, but without success. It at length became evident that the Evangelical party must yield, or must renounce their livings, and go forth trusting to Him that feeds the ravens. The Government and the Moderate Party seem never to have supposed it possible that a large number of men could renounce all their worldly maintenance, in support of a mere abstraction. Judging from what they knew of human nature, they felt certain that when it came to the stern issue of sacrificing their all, interest would be paramount to principle, and but few would secede.

Such was the state of public feeling in the beginning of 1842. Some hoped that the Evangelicals would be firm; some that they would yield; some believed that the old and dauntless spirit of the Covenant still lingered about the mountains and glens that were hallowed by the blood of martyred witnesses for Christ's crown, and that this spirit would flame out in their sons; others believed that all this display of determination was mere bravado, that would give way in the stern hour of trial.

The eighteenth of May, 1843, was a memorable day for Scotland. Her gray old capital was crowded with the *élite* of the land, who came pouring in from mountain and lowland, to see the last mighty struggle in that contest so long waged between the might of intellect and piety on the one hand, and the might of power and wealth on the other. The grim old towers of Holyrood are graced with the glitter of reflected royalty, and the deep and narrow streets of the Old Town are thronged with eager faces, which scarcely turn to gaze on the glittering pomp of the magnificent train that swept from the ancient palace of the Stuarts to the Cathedral Church of St. Giles. All feel that this day is big with the fate of interests that

lie near the throbbing heart of Scotland. The General Assembly, that day to meet, would decide before the setting sun the destiny of the noblest and purest part of the Church of Knox, and Melville, and Henderson. The royal commissioner having held his stately levee, and listened with his glittering retinue to the opening sermon at St. Giles, the procession again moves through a wedged and living mass to the Church of St. Andrew's, where the assembly is to meet. For hours this church has been crowded to suffocation, except in the seats reserved for the members. At length these seats are filled. In the chair is seated the polished and classic Welsh, whose pure and glowing spirit seems to shine through his too fragile body like a lamp through a vase of alabaster, and whose knit brow and compressed lip tell of unfaltering resolve. Beside him is seen the white-haired Chalmers, whose massive frame and swollen brow bespeak the profoundest emotion. Around are gathered men, who as they think of the quiet homes where dear ones are gathered in agonizing suspense, homes where so many days of joy had been passed, but which that day were to be abandoned by their own act, and these dear ones taken forth to struggle with the nameless uncertainties of the future, the eye of the husband and father fills with an unbidden tear; but as they remember the high and holy cause in which this sacrifice is to be made, the tear is brushed away, and the heart of the Christian is nerved with new strength for the offering he was now to make on the altar of principle. Soon the bray of trumpets and the clatter of sabres announce the entrance of represented royalty, who is received by the Assembly standing, and greeted by the Moderator as he appears with the customary formalities. The blessing of the Church's great Head is then fervently implored, and there is a breathless pause. A thousand hearts are throbbing with a quickened pulse, and quivering lips are moved with prayer, as the Moderator turns slowly and firmly to the Royal Commissioner, and, for himself and those who shall unite with him, solemnly protests against the organization of the Assembly as not free; against the encroaching acts of the civil power as illegal and unconstitutional; and renounces all connexion with an establishment whose bond of union had become a yoke of bondage. Then, laying his protest on the table, and bowing to the commissioner, he abandons the chair and walks towards the eastern door. It was a moment of intense excitement and suspense. No man knew who would prove firm in the hour of trial, and the Government had been confidently assured that not more than thirty would leave the Establishment in the last issue. Who then will follow the noble Welsh? First, there springs to his side the dauntless Chalmers,

with his flashing eye and his lion port; then another, and another; the men whose names had shed her brightest lustre on the Church; the men who had toiled most faithfully for the destitute and neglected; one by one they rose and swelled the gathering stream, until one hundred and ninety-three seats have been vacated, and the pride and flower of the Church has departed. From the crowded seats and galleries there throng others to share in this glorious exodus, and to lay down their worldly hopes for Christ's crown and covenant, until, to the blank amazement of the startled commissioner, the whole house seems likely to be emptied, in the excited rush that was made from every part of it, to follow those men who now, with nobler than carnal weapons, "struck for their altars and their fires, God and their native land."

Outside of the house the dense and crowded mass was wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement. The old clock on the spire had struck three as the Lord Commissioner entered the hall of St. Andrew's, and the anxious crowd, that could neither see nor know what was passing within, was moved with the most eager anxiety. "They *will* come out," say the sons of the covenant; "they will not prove recreant to us, whom they have led thus far in this contest, and play the craven in the hour of trial."—"They will not come out," say others; "they will not pluck the bread out of the mouths of their children for a mere abstraction." Doubts, hopes, and fears were busy, and many an anxious glance was cast at the dial in the tower. The lingering hands point to half past three, and yet no one appears from within, and no note of indication is given. Have they indeed faltered? Have they proved faithless to the blue banner of the covenant? But hark! there comes a sound from within like the rush of many waters, and the cry flies from lip to lip, "They come! they come!" and the living tide begins to pour from the guarded door. There are Welsh, and Chalmers, and Candlish, and Cunningham, and Gordon, and Dunlop, and noble and honoured names in the Church; pair by pair, score by score, hundred by hundred, they press forth in glorious procession, with hearts to dare and hands to do the mighty work before them. The long agony is over; the Church is safe; and strong men who had faced death unmoved amidst the roar of battle are unstrung, and the big tears gush from their eyes as their lips murmur the "Thank God! Scotland is free!" That dense, compacted crowd, where the bayonets of the escort could scarcely open a passage to the scarlet-robed commissioner, now swayed from side to side, like the yielding waters before the rushing prow; and down that living lane, where sobs and tears were mingled with prayers and blessings on these brave men, strode four

hundred of Scotland's holiest ministers, and as many of her eldership, ready to do and even to die for the crown rights of the Redeemer. Onward they move silently down the crowded streets that descend toward the Water of Leith, their thoughts busy with the past, the future, the absent, and the dear, until they reach the round towers of Canonmills; and there within the spacious Tanfield Hall, crowded to the roof with eager spectators, they solemnly assemble. As the tremulous voice of Welsh led in prayer, the long pent-up feelings of the vast assembly burst forth in irrepressible sobs and tears of mingled sorrow and gladness: but when the whole multitude stood up, and from four thousand voices there went up, until the towers of Canonmills shook with the thunder of the melody, the high and mournful strains of the old Hebrew faith and fearlessness,—

“ God is our refuge and our strength,
In straits a present aid,
Therefore, although the earth remove,
We will not be afraid:”

every heart was nerved with holy fervour to lay down all for the cross and crown of Christ.

The voice of the whole body called Chalmers to the chair; and then it would almost seem, that, after a quarter of a century spent in battling for the spiritual freedom of the Church, “the old man eloquent” might utter his *nunc dimittis*, as he presided over the first General Assembly of the Free Kirk of Scotland.

With the stupendous exertions that were then put forth to erect churches, manses, school-houses, and colleges, to send missions to Jews and Heathen, and to set on foot all the machinery of an efficient Church; with the amazing labours of Chalmers, who travelled over the length and breadth of Scotland, breathing his own burning spirit into every class, whilst he seemed like the eagle to have renewed his youth; and with the wonderful success that crowned these exertions, we cannot be detained without exceeding our limits. Suffice it to say, that in a great measure by the infusion of his own untiring energy into every class, rank, and age, the stupendous structure of the Free Church went up, like Aladdin's palace, as it were in a single night, and the world stood amazed at the unparalleled spectacle.

The last public appearance of Dr. Chalmers was in May, 1847; when he was summoned to give testimony before the Site Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the refusal of church-sites to congregations of the Free Church, by the duke of Buccleugh and others. We have read the document containing this evidence with mournful interest. He appears in it like a lion at

bay; whilst the hunters on all sides seek to catch him in their toils. Sir James Graham, in whose veins runs the blood of the ruthless Claverhouse, used all his cold and practised subtlety to involve him in difficulty and contradiction, but was baffled by the clear and frank honesty of the old man. His last testimony to the world thus was one for "freedom to worship God."

He returned home to perform a single public act, and then retire to spend his remaining days as a city missionary. He had chosen a crowded spot in the West Port of Edinburgh, the very spot which the infamous Burke had made the scene of his horrid wickedness, and here he intended to apply his theory of aggressive evangelization, and excavate by patient toil the moral filth and obduracy of this region.

The Free Church Assembly met again, and Scotland's ministers and elders gathered from her borders to gaze once more on "the leader of Israel." On the morrow he was to make his final report to the Assembly, and then resign to younger hands the toil of carrying forward the ark of God. His writing materials were arranged by his bedside, that he might spend his earliest waking hours as he was wont, in the use of the pen. But a brighter morning than that which he expected when he closed his eyes was to dawn upon him. In the stillness and solitude of the night the messenger came; and, apparently without a groan, or the moving of a muscle, or a trace of struggle manifest in his position or his bed-clothes, he gently fell asleep; and when morning came, all that met the gaze of love was that noble form in calm repose, that had rested from its labours while the spirit went up to its reward. It was fitting that he should pass away thus when his labours were done, and that the Church should be gathered in her annual convocation to pay the last sad honours to one of her noblest sons. The vast crowd that poured forth to pay the closing tribute of respect to his memory, was composed of every age, and rank, and name in society, and showed that the loss was felt to be one to the nation, and to the cause of Christianity at large. And as the immense throng of silent, and many of them weeping mourners, poured its living tide along from Morningside to the Cemetery, the one thought that pervaded the mass was that which burst from the king's lips at the bedside of the dying prophet: "My father! my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

The problem of Chalmers' life and character offers no difficulties for solution. His grand work intellectually was to bring into closer union the higher forms of science, and the deeper forms of spiritual Christianity. This he did, not so much by making any new disco-

veries in either, as by showing the possibility of their union in his own case. He thus, on the one hand, evinced to the austere bigot, who looked with horror on scientific progress as rank infidelity, that in its highest form science was literally the handmaid of religion; and, on the other, demonstrated to the flippant sciolist, who deemed Christianity a mere anile superstition, unable to bear the scrutiny of severe analysis, that the humblest piety and the loftiest intellect could be joined in the most loving and graceful union, each adorning and strengthening the other. The Blairs and Robertsons, the Butlers and Clarkes of a former generation, had shown that intellect and scholarship could co-exist with a decent and "respectable" form of Christianity; but it was left for such men as Chalmers, Foster, and Hall, fully to demonstrate that the most earnest form of evangelical piety was perfectly compatible with the most exalted intellect and the most finished scholarship.

His work in the religious developments of the age was to contend for the spiritual liberties of the Church, and her right to independent self-government. This struggle began with the Reformation, and has essentially continued to the present day. It is at last the struggle of a living Christianity to put forth its roots and branches according to the law of its inherent life. It is the struggle that was begun by the Reformers, carried on by the Huguenots and Puritans, taken up by the Methodists and Evangelicals, and maintained at this day by the great body of the Dissenters and Voluntaries. It involves two things in every national establishment: first, the revival of the principle of spiritual vitality in the Church; second, the ultimate separation of the Church from the State. The former must as certainly produce the latter, as the swelling of the seed will burst the pod or husk that contains it; and which, however valuable to protect when vitality is suspended, is cast off as useless when the hidden life begins to put forth its mysterious powers. Hence we find that in every case when religion has become extensively revived in the English or Scottish Establishment, the result has been a collision of the sovereignties thus forced into so unnatural a union. A state governed by churchmen, and a church governed by statesmen, have presented in all cases the same invariable result;—inefficiency and inaction when the pulse of life beats low, convulsion and misrule when it was in vigorous action. It is joining together by man what God has put asunder,—the ill-starred nuptials of forbidden parties.

The magnificent experiment of the Free Church of Scotland we regard as one of the most important movements made in this great work since the Reformation; a movement which certainly heralds

the first separation of civil and spiritual jurisdiction in the British government. And whilst it is true that Chalmers and his coadjutors continued to hold to the principle of establishments after the disruption, yet it is also true that their own course and conduct furnish the most unanswerable refutation of their speculative principles. Believing then, as we do, that the spiritual independence of the Church is essential to the final triumph of Christianity; that the establishment of the Free Church is the longest stride in this direction that our age has witnessed; and that Chalmers was to a great extent the soul of this movement; we consider this work as not only the great work of his life, but also one worthy of all the energies of his noble nature. If we were to designate any one attribute of his nature by which he was fitted for these high missions, we would say that it was *his earnestness*. Whatever he did he did it with his might; and whether it was gathering minerals and flowers among the hills of Fife, or thundering his magnificent philippics from the pulpit of the Tron; or handling some great argument in his classroom, until his mind kindled with its own motion, and his gray eye glared with a perfect frenzy of excitement; or grappling with the powerful minds of the opposition on the floor of the Assembly; he in every case threw his whole soul into whatever he undertook. This was the grand secret of his power. Men felt, when they came in contact with him, that they were encountering a reality, a man about whom there was neither cant nor sham,—a man who felt what he professed, and felt it intensely. This fervid, impetuous earnestness either imparted its own fire to those around him, or swept away all obstacles in the tide of its vehemence. Hence, when he spoke men felt that the flood-gates of a mighty spirit were opened, whose deep craters reached down to the range of perpetual fusion; and it was with a kind of breathless awe that they gazed at the fiery torrent that poured with consuming and resistless impetuosity from its glowing source. When he acted, it was with a profound conviction of the practicability and vital importance of the plan he proposed; and the enthusiastic confidence which he felt in it himself, went far to remove the doubts and silence the suspicions of others. He possessed eminently that contagious spirit of lofty enthusiasm and fearless confidence in his own conceptions, that have characterized all great leaders of men, and that have made their very rashness often the surest road to success. This *vis vivida* was united in his case to an element of power that many great leaders lack,—a large and comprehensive sympathy with all human interests and sufferings. Never was the "*homo sum*" of the Roman Menander more fully embodied in the energies and sympathies of a human heart. Men

felt that they were in the presence of a spirit that loved its race, and one that spake and acted for others rather than for itself; and this conviction gave a potency to all his efforts that nothing else could supply. It was this profound conviction of his earnest philanthropy, united with admiration of his lofty intellect, that gave him such a hold on the confidence of the Scottish people as to warrant the strong remark of an eminent British statesman,—“Where Chalmers is, there is the Church of Scotland.”

When we analyze his intellectual character we find but two prominent peculiarities. The first, is the large development of the perceptive faculties. It was this intellectual peculiarity that directed his mind to natural science, and fitted him to excel in those departments that demanded the exercise of the perceptive powers; that determined his thoughts to the details of economics, poor-laws, statistics, &c.; that furnished him with the exuberance of illustration that adorns his discourses, and led him generally to reason by analogy rather than on abstract principles, or by metaphysical deductions.

The other prominent fact in his intellectual structure was imagination. He did not look at a subject in the cold, dry light of pure intellection, but in the warm and vivid light of a poetic fancy. The “body of divinity” or ethics, which in the hands of other analysts became a skeleton of rattling bones, by his plastic touch was transformed into an image of living, breathing beauty, warm and bright with a glorious life. The abstractions of colder and more logical minds were to him concrete, embodied realities. It was this that enabled him to utter the truths of the gospel with such freshness and power, that they seemed brought forth in a new revelation. It was this that enabled him to toil as a city missionary in the darkest dens of vice in Edinburgh; for he felt that he was not only “excavating” the moral filth of the West Port, but working out a problem for Scotland and the world. This power of investing humble and lowly efforts with large and magnificent relations, enabled him to labour with enthusiasm himself, and impart that enthusiasm to others. The peculiar splendour of his imagination, however, is only seen in some of his grand pulpit efforts, and especially in the *Astronomical Discourses*, where it flings a blaze of starry lustre over the whole subject, that seemed to the astonished world like the unveiling of a new heavens and a new earth. This power of investing everything he looked at with the gorgeous glow of his many-tinted imagination, was one of the secrets of the unwasting energy he evinced himself, and the amazing influence he had over others.

It was to the rare combination of these powers in his case that he owed his brilliant reputation as a preacher. That this reputation had a solid and permanent basis, is proved by the admiration of nearly half a century; the admiration not of a small clique, or an interested class, but of all classes and ranks throughout the British empire, including such men as Canning, Jeffrey, and Carlyle. Never perhaps in the history of eloquence has such a reputation been acquired and maintained in the face of such formidable difficulties. He had none of the ordinary graces and tricks of oratory. His voice was not remarkable for either compass or tone; his pronunciation was broadly provincial; his gesture was little more than a sawing jerk of the arm up and down in his most excited moments; he always read his sermons, and kept one hand and his eyes most of the time on the manuscript; yet in spite of all these defects crowds of the first minds in England hung enraptured on his lips. Nor was it entirely the matter of his discourses that gave them their power, for we have some of the best of them in print, and can judge of their merits. An enthusiastic admirer thus describes his preaching:—"We seem to see and hear him still, bending forward, with his left hand on his manuscript, and his right clenched and elevated in energetic action, while the wildest expression of the eye mingles strangely with the solemn and almost austere determination of that large, firm upper lip, and broad, knotty forehead; and what lies written before him is enunciated in a voice husky, indeed, and tuneless, but very distinct, and in the highest degree earnest and vehement, so as to make you almost feel the words literally smiting your ear, and fixing themselves in your flesh as if with fangs. There was something in Chalmers' more impassioned delivery that always reminded us of the whizzing of steel upon a rapidly revolving grindstone, with the sparks of fire flying off in showers."

From this and other sources we gather the elements of his power as a preacher. Looking at truth with an eye that saw its relations to all the grand departments of God's kingdom, and with an imagination that clothed it with a more than earthly beauty, he felt it intensely himself, and was thus fitted to impress it deeply on others. When, therefore, he came before an audience, he came possessed, in a sense inspired, with the mighty themes he was to handle. Having also a deep yearning of sympathy for the great brotherhood of humanity in their sorrow and sin, he threw his whole nature into the effort to lead them to the truth. Men forgot the uncouth gesture and provincial accent, as they saw him panting and trembling with the deepest emotion; and as his broad frame heaved, and his deep eye glared with the frenzy of his excitement, they thought of that ancient

and powerful afflatus, in which men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

But when we examine his sermons critically we find much to condemn. They lack the polished elegance and logical strength of Robert Hall; the chiselled, artistic completeness of Andrew Thomson; the antique, Ezekiel sublimity of Edward Irving; and the still, deep thought of John Foster. Yet have they a peculiar strength, beauty, and splendour of their own, with many defects and deformities. There is an utter disregard of all the laws of style and language that custom has ordained. The sentences are long, involved, and tangled. The veriest colloquialisms, the most unauthorized idioms, and, in some cases, even an approach to vulgarisms, appear in his language. Thus, in one of his most magnificent efforts, he tells his hearers that he does not expect by such appeals to break the "*confounded spell*" that chained them to the world. If he had said "*tarnation*" instead of "*confounded*," it would have been at least equally classic and authorized, if not equally expressive. There is evinced an overlooking of the minor graces, that, however we may pardon in so mighty an intellect, would yet have strengthened rather than weakened his mental efforts. The roughest sword will do execution in the hands of a giant; but its edge may be made keener, and its stroke deadlier, by a little polish.

The most offensive trait in his style is its endless amplification and repetition. Take, for example, the following, selected almost at random from his sermons:—

"Why, there are some who seem to feel as if nothing more were required for the completion of this work than merely to adjust the orthodoxy of their creed, and then have done with it. To acquire faith is, with them, as simple an affair as to learn their catechism. Let them only impart a sound metaphysical notion into the head, and this they think will bear them upward into heaven, though their treasure is not there, and their heart is not there. To seize upon the title-deed to heaven, they feel as if they had nothing more to do than to seize upon some certain dogma in the science of theology, and that by keeping a firm hold of this they hold a kind of legal or stipulated security for a place in the inheritance above. Faith is, with them, a mere embrace, by the understanding, of one or more articles in an approved system of divinity. It is enough, in their imagination, to have a right to glory, that they be intellectually right about the matter of a sinner's justification in the sight of God. Heaven is somehow looked upon as a reward to the believer for the soundness of his speculative opinions. The faith which is unto salvation is regarded in no other light than as the bare recognition of certain doctrinal truths, and the salvation itself as a return for such recognition. The indolence of a mere theoretical contemplation is thus substituted for the practice, and pains-taking, and perseverance of men, in busy pursuit of some object to which they are bending forward with the desire and the diligence of an earnest prosecution."

Here it will be perceived that the same specific idea is asserted

in every sentence, with scarcely a shade of additional meaning. The whole paragraph, in musical phrase, is a series of variations. This peculiarity in his style gave truth and point to the comparisons made by Robert Hall, likening his style to a kaleidoscope, which presented at every turn the same elements, only in different lights; and to a door on its hinges, in which there was motion, but no progression.

But, in spite of these defects, there is an undoubted charm about his style which we would not deny or depreciate. This charm consists, mainly, in a certain stateliness and gorgeousness that it possesses, combined with an occasional quaintness and alliteration, that make his sentences at times ring like cymbals. His thoughts are rarely clothed in the simple costume of common life, but come forth in the robe and buskin of the boards, with the mien and tread of royalty. Hence the most ordinary conceptions have a *loom* of magnificence by the refracting power of his style, and seem dilated to a magnitude, and robed with a splendour, that belong only to the drapery in which they appear, or the medium through which they are seen. We will not call his style theatrical; for this term would suggest ideas of hollowness and show which did not belong to his mind. He was eminently an earnest, sincere man; and we find as little affectation of greatness, or mere *acting* the great man, in his writings, as we do in any writer of eminence in modern times. He is as simple and unconscious as a child. But yet his style is peculiarly *scenic*. It is picturesque rather than statuesque, owing its power rather to the gorgeousness of its colouring than to the delicacy of its finish. In this respect he stands midway between Edward Irving and Henry Melville, (if he was not in some respects their model, especially of the latter,) having some essential points of resemblance to both, and yet without the wild Pythonic *furor* of the first, or the consummate histrionic art of the second.

We cannot, in the room that is left us, attempt even a summary, much less a critique, on the voluminous writings of Dr. Chalmers. When the eight volumes of Posthumous Works are published, they will amount to thirty-three volumes duodecimo, embracing treatises on Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Didactic Theology, Ethics, Political and Ecclesiastical Economics, Expositions of Scripture, Sermons, Prefaces, Tracts, Essays, &c., &c., covering a vast extent of topics, and illustrating the rare versatility of powers and attainments by which his mind was distinguished.

The work by which his reputation was first widely established, and which we may select as furnishing a fair illustration of his peculiar powers, is his *Astronomical Discourses*. Few persons will

forget the intense delight with which they first read these remarkable productions; and from this feeling we can understand the enthusiasm with which they were greeted on their original publication. This burst of admiration was owing, in part, to the novel nature of the subject discussed, and the vagueness of the popular conceptions on the subject of astronomy. It was the opening up of a gold region unknown before; a region whose glittering sands were stars, and whose limits "the flaming bounds of space," the boundless sweep of the universe. The very facts of astronomy were but imperfectly known by the great mass of readers; and even when known, there was an uneasy suspicion that there was some undefined danger to be apprehended to the ancient, popular faith, from the startling developments of this wonderful science. On the part of the skeptic there was an undisguised sneer at the old Ptolemean theory of religion, that made the earth the centre of God's government, and all other orders to revolve in their spheres of existence around it. On the part of the believing there was a disposition at least to make a truce with this daring and eagle-eyed discoverer, if not to indulge an absolute and jealous hostility. How profound, then, was the amazement and delight of the Christian world, when the blazing scroll of the heavens was unrolled to them, all glittering with the most magnificent revelations; and yet all tending to confirm the revelation made in the written word! How deep the thrill of surprise when it was found that its mighty constellations included *a cross*! The very infidelity of the age was thunder-struck with this splendid *coup-de-main*, and forgot the bitterness of defeat in the prowess of the victor, and the splendour of the triumph.

But when the magnificent pageant has passed by, and we begin calmly to examine the train of argument pursued, our first enthusiasm will begin to subside. We do not regard it as any objection to these Discourses, that the train of thought, and the principal arguments adduced, had been first struck out by Andrew Fuller, in his Answer to Paine. Fuller's sketch is but a single chapter in his larger work, and possesses but the single merit of clear, cold logic. Chalmers seized the bare conceptions thus furnished, and clothed them with the starry splendour of a mind imbued at once with an intense love of science, and a profound reverence for religion; and, flinging over all the purple light of his gorgeous imagination, he became to Fuller, in the apologetic aspect, what La Place was to Newton in the scientific department of this magnificent field of knowledge. But yet we very much question whether the rigid logic of the argument did not suffer in the translation.

The infidel objection was, that the immense magnitude of the creation, as developed by modern astronomy, reduced the earth to so insignificant a relative position, that it seemed as preposterous to hold it, with Christianity, to be the centre of God's moral universe, as it had been, with ancient science, to believe that it was the centre of God's material universe; and that if the falsity of the latter assumption was demonstrated, it drew after it, by necessary inference, the falsity of the former.

How does Chalmers meet this objection? After a splendid sketch of modern astronomy, he descants on the modesty of true science, a point which the objector will not dispute. He then enlarges on the extent of the divine condescension, as revealed in the discoveries of the microscope. To this the obvious reply of the objector would be, that it was not the extent or minuteness of the condescension alleged by Christianity to which he objected, but to the mode in which it was said to be exerted, and the amazing disproportion between the provisions and the objects provided for; as if it were asserted, not only that God had clothed the animalcule with the most gorgeous vesture, and robed it in a mail of purple and gold, but had created an ocean, or a continent, for the sole and only purpose of its residence. He then dwells on the knowledge of man's moral history, and the sympathy felt for him in the distant places of creation, and the contest for an ascendancy over man among the higher orders of intelligence. The evident reply to this would be, that the only proof of these points was to be drawn from the very records under discussion; and to assume their truth by thus arguing on assumptions which they alone furnished, was a sort of *petitio principii*. The Bible is the only foundation upon which these positions rest; to repose the truth of the Bible, therefore, on these positions, was to reverse the natural order, and to begin to build the house at the roof instead of the foundation. The last discourse is on the slender influence of mere taste and sensibility in the matter of religion; a point that of course does not bear directly on the question in discussion. Such is a brief analysis of the argument of these memorable and magnificent Discourses.

To us the ground taken by Fuller seems much more unanswerable. Planting himself on the native dignity of the human soul, he argues that to save a soul is a mightier work than to create a world; and that regarding the superiority of spiritual to material greatness, the work of redeeming a world of immortal souls, perhaps the only world that had apostatized, swelled into a grandeur that threw all material splendour into the shade; and that to object to the smallness of the field on which it is alleged this mighty work was per-

formed, were as absurd as to object to the greatness, or doubt the achievement, of the victories of Marathon or Waterloo, because they were fought on but a few acres of ground instead of measureless square leagues. He then adduces the considerations so splendidly unfolded by Chalmers, to show that the probable exterior relations of redemption fully harmonized with all the discoveries of astronomical science. Had the course of argument thus sketched out by Fuller been more closely followed by Chalmers, we think the power of the Discourses would have been greatly augmented, whilst their splendour would not have been diminished. Their grand defect, beyond the *splendida vitia* of their style, is the want of logical method and compactness in unfolding the argument,—a want which will be readily seen by comparing them with such works as Hall's Sermon on Modern Infidelity, or Campbell's Answer to Hume on Miracles.

As an expositor of Scripture, we cannot assign Chalmers a high rank. His Lectures on Romans, and still more fully his Posthumous Works, prove that his excursions into this vast field were but short and narrow in their range. He exhibits, it is true, the same grasp of mind here that he does elsewhere; but he has evidently not even attempted to master the stupendous materials accumulated by modern exegesis. He could, however, well afford to leave to other minds the mastery of those laborious details. The eagle eye of such a mind was perhaps not constructed to the focus necessary for tracing etymological roots.

We cannot enter on his character as a theologian, for this would lead us greatly beyond our limits; and the complete elements of a proper decision are wanting until the appearance of his Institutes of Theology, in the forthcoming series of Posthumous Works.

Our judgment of Dr. Chalmers may then be briefly summed up. Without being either a great logician, a great rhetorician, or a great scholar, he was a great orator and a great man. Whilst his writings, voluminous and effective though they have been, will do less to mould the important opinions of his generation than those of obscurer men, his life will leave as broad and enduring an impress on the history of the Church and world as that of any writer of his age. Whilst his style is on all hands acknowledged to be seriously defective, it has left its mark on the religious literature of Scotland, with a distinctness that cannot be overlooked. Without perceiving or even desiring the inevitable results of his efforts, he has achieved a noble victory for the liberties of Christ's Church, and struck some of the heaviest blows in that work that must be completed by such men as Baptist Noel and Mr. Dodson. He has shown in his own person the

possibility of uniting the keenest relish for science, and high attainments in some of its departments, with the humblest and purest evangelical piety. As a man he has reminded us of the beautiful prophecy,—"The child shall die an hundred years old." He had all the unconscious simplicity, the sweetness, the filial trust, the loving and joyous spirit of the little child, combined with the rarest attributes of intellect and the ripest fruits of experience. Coleridge has somewhere defined genius to be the susceptibilities and feelings of childhood, carried forward in their vivid freshness to manhood. We know of no more accurate definition of the character of Dr. Chalmers. He grew old in his body, but never in his soul; the snows of age were sprinkled on his brow, but never on his heart; and even when his sun hung low and cold in the distant west, it flung over the whole field of vision the brilliant glow of hope and trust, that brightened the scenes of life's earliest morning. His was a broad and genial nature, that touched in its ample extent the remotest opposites, and shared the enthusiastic love of natures so hostile in their antagonism, that they seemed to know nothing in common but their common affection for him. The cynical Carlyle, the fastidious Jeffrey, the thoughtful Taylor, the skeptic, the scholar, and the philosopher, all mingled their tears with the narrowest textuary of the straitest sect, and the humblest and lowliest of the toiling thousands of Scotland, in weeping over the loss of one who loved and enlightened them all. The Church of the living God has a glorious heritage of noble names, but she has few over which she can hang with a deeper throb of mingled admiration and love, than the memory of the brilliant, the lofty, and the child-hearted Chalmers.

ART.—VI. THE PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE.

THIRD PAPER.

IN our former articles on this subject, the Etymological Method (as we entitled it) was judged, chiefly by its fruits, and condemned. A critical examination of its method of procedure would, perhaps, aggravate the condemnation. But we are now, we suppose, authorized to lay the Grammatical form out of the question, and to turn our attention entirely to the science, so called, of Comparative Philology.

And the first question is, Does Comparative Philology conform strictly, as is pretended, to the science of Comparative Anatomy,

from which it has taken its name? We shall first try this assumed analogy on the merits of fact alone. It is an error which we conceive it of primary importance, in view of any effective progress in the philosophy of language, once for all to expose decisively. It is of a nature, moreover, as obstinate as it is mischievous. Illusions of *doctrine*, besides being limited to a particular subject, are liable constantly to be laid bare, even by the natural current of things; but an error of *method* is everlasting as well as universal. The one is an affection of the object; the other, of the eye. While a thousand systems of philosophy, not less attractive nor perhaps more erroneous, had successively arisen and passed away, the logical system known as Aristotle's kept the human intellect in its thralls during twenty centuries.

Comparative philology, then, as at present practised, fails of two conditions which have been rightly deemed by its anatomical prototype as indispensable preliminaries: 1st, an intimate knowledge, individually, of the organizations compared—often so intimate as to enable us to tell, from a single joint, tooth, or tissue, the general structure, species, food, &c., of the corresponding animal, perhaps for ages extinct: 2d, a type whereto ultimately to refer the serial comparison, and which the naturalist has ready furnished him in *man*—as at once the object of the illustration, and the most complicate of natural organisms. But the philologist, so far from possessing any similar data, appears to be unconscious of their logical necessity. Something has, indeed, been accomplished for the organic analysis of language, commenced by Plato, and now known most familiarly as the grammatical division of the Parts of Speech. But some two thousand years, and as many treatises on the subject, seem to have left this inchoative sketch in its original imperfection. A proof of which is, that we meet in none of these treatises with any systematic attempt to explain even practical anomalies; such, for example, as that the Hebrew, Greek, and other languages, have but one article, and the Latin has none; that the latter language has gerunds and supines which most other idioms are without; that the Shemitic languages dispense with a present tense and have but one conjugation; that the Sanscrit and Slavonic have local and instrumental cases, while our modern dialects retain scarce any at all, &c. Or rather, the point they do *not* explain, and the only one to the purpose, is, how these and the like peculiarities, positive and privative, are *compensated* by some other parts, or functions, of the system.

But the case is worse, if possible, in respect to the second condition of a model language, namely, the necessity of a type or stand-

ard. For, besides the well-known pre-eminence with every nation of its own vernacular, philosophers themselves are not agreed upon such a criterion; and this not only as to individual languages, but even as to the two great divisions characterized respectively by Inflection and Auxiliaries. So that our philologists proceed to compare apace, it seems, without comprehending either the *terms* or the *principle* of the comparison, professing all the while, and persuaded no doubt, that they follow the method of the comparative anatomist! The inevitable result is upon record.

But none are to be censured for failing to accomplish impossibilities, whatever reproach may fairly attach to professing, or not perceiving, them. The terms and principle alluded to have no actual existence in philology. The subject of the naturalist (as just remarked) proposes to him, first, a definite *object* of investigation, and then presents him in the whole animal kingdom a collection of terms obviously *different*, which, under guidance of the type, he is enabled to classify in an order of descending simplification, which has the effect of exhibiting the organic structure to be analyzed, drawn out, as it were, in a succession of sections or views. The condition of the philologist could in this respect be analogous only if the other animal species had, or were allowed to have, languages too, and in corresponding diversity, to enter into the comparison. But such a supposition would be repudiated with especial zeal by the school of philology in question; which, on the contrary, proceeds upon the primitive unity of even the human tongue and species. Now the organic unity of language would be a direct consequence of this unity of race. But it rests scientifically on a better established unity, namely, uniformity of organization, mental and physiological. Comparison of this kind, therefore, in philology can be, essentially, but of language with itself; its varieties, due (as will hereafter appear) entirely to secondary and extraneous influences; not entering, consequently, into the present fundamental consideration.

To this utter destitution of the analogous means is further to be added a total dissimilitude of *end*. The Comparative philologist does not propose to analyze a particular idiom; he seeks (or should seek) to establish the general laws of all idioms whatever. So that at present he manifestly proceeds in a vicious circle;—so vicious, indeed, that it would be ludicrously palpable in almost any other department of rational research.

This error involves the second, the logical oversight. In short, the pretended application of this method to languages accumulates the assumptions, (now severally shown to be false,) that the languages compared are organically different; that there is established a stand-

ard language whereby to class them serially for the comparison; that the divers idioms, dialects, &c., are completely known preliminarily; and, what is the greatest absurdity of all, perhaps, that to know the grammatical organization of language is to know its laws, its philosophy; which were as if (to recur to an illustration these writers seem to have challenged) anatomy should pass for the aggregate laws of life, and no account be at all taken of the department of physiology.

The latter analogy, indeed, which suggests already the true philological method, might appear to have been recognized, at least in (for example) the filiation of the tribe of languages denominated Indo-Germanic. But the progression these have proceeded upon is manifestly that of chronology, which is essentially different from the scientific progression of language. It is simply filiation, not development; it is *procession*, not progression. That of the latter there hitherto prevails in fact no distinct conception, is proclaimed by the accredited basis itself of philological investigation,—we mean *vocabularies*; into which are jumbled isolated, and thus unintelligible, fragments of the rudest savage idioms, on quite equal terms with the classical tongues. Even the most celebrated of these collections—consisting of both sorts, to the number of several hundreds, and entitled the *Mithridates*,—though admirable undoubtedly for learning and labour, must yet, as a means of investigating the laws of language, properly so called, appear, we think, to the eye of science, very much as if an anthropologist were to class childhood and old age indiscriminately with manhood, in making an estimate of the normal faculties, mental or physical, of the human species. Nor can it possibly be otherwise without that theoretical guidance, which yet these writers affect to repudiate with a fastidiousness equally perverse and pedantic.

A theory, then, of Language, (by which we mean no more, for the present, than some general conception of its historical manifestations, if only to render possible, provisionally, the systematic consideration of the phenomena,) and secondly a modification of the Comparative Method adapted to the subject, these appear, from the foregoing discussion, to be the two great actual requisites of philological research. The former of these, namely, Theory, has occupied us in a late number of this journal, under the title of the *Progressive Principle of Language*; and we now offer a few observations on the latter, namely, Method.

Method, or Logic—as we have just remarked of language, which indeed is but its sensible manifestation—is essentially one; and its reputed varieties are but mere modifications, spontaneously adapting

themselves to the ascending complexity or particularity of the phenomena. Thus when applied, for example, to astronomy, it is termed Observation; when to physics and chemistry, Experiment. It has received the name of Comparison in its more recent extension to Botany, Zoology, &c. But in fact the process was properly *Comparison* throughout: in the first case, of two phenomena directly; in the second, the same, but indirectly or through change of circumstances; in the third, it is concerned with relations as between the parts of organical systems, and thence is sometimes termed the comparison of Analogies;—the process taking here the generic appellation, because, no doubt, of the greater prominence of its intellectual character; whereas, in the other and simpler sciences, it was originally spontaneous. There is obviously another degree, and no more, in the scale,—the Comparison of the *whole system with ITSELF in a SUCCESSION of PROGRESSIVE STATES*. This is a mode not yet recognized in logical treatises. It will prove to be just the method we are in quest of, and quite naturally adapted to the peculiar phenomena of language. Upon this alone, therefore, shall we further dwell at present. The general theory of Methodology is a thing too new, not only to our readers, but even to English literature, to be touched, if at all, without detailed explanation. We can here only say that its grand aspects, as destined for scientific classification, are as yet but half developed, even where science has advanced the farthest; and that this is the theatre on which Language, duly prepared, has, as we conceive, awaiting it the most magnificent of its important parts, namely, the *definitive constitution of the moral and social sciences, and the logical education of the popular mind*.

The fourth, then, and final form of this Scientific Comparison—in common indeed with the preceding respectively—can only be adequately conceived in the special nature of its appropriate subject. This remark explains the futility, so long and so generally experienced, of attempting to teach logic from a system of abstract rules; even were these rules not limited, as hitherto they have been, to two at most of the earlier stages.

Of the peculiar phenomena of language it has been already intimated that they are evolved in time, occur in succession; whereas those of anatomy, for example, present themselves in space, co-existently. Language, too, of course, as an organism, offers a phase of co-existence. This is taken, by universal consent, to consist in the syntactic system. But no aid directly applicable to the exploration of the laws of language can (as we have shown) be derived from its grammatical aspect; which indeed depends, even for its own analysis, upon the pre-establishment of a theory of functions. The ex-

planation seems to be, that grammar is in truth a part of these functions; its phenomena are relatively successive, operate in time, quite the same as their collective developments. Similarly too are they arrested (so to speak) and marshalled in space by means of the *art of writing*. This monumental art, accordingly, we have little doubt that time and science will show to be the true organization, the osseous structure of Language; instead of being, as hitherto regarded, an incidental and heterogeneous system.

Meanwhile, there is an oversight, scarce less grave, to be charged to this great psychological division itself. Since the version of it by Kant, it has been repeated under several varieties of formula: that all phenomena may be considered in time or in space—may be viewed as at rest or in motion—as existing simultaneously or successively—as offering uniformities of resemblance or contiguities of sequence. But it is not adverted to that these divisions are all variable according to times and subjects; that the demarcation fluctuates with the progress of science;—to the degree, indeed, of entirely disappearing with the complete co-ordination of the encyclopædic scale. We have an example of the transition already, in the ruder and merely material form of the division into inorganic and organic objects. To characterize, therefore, the proper place of language, some previous explication seems necessary of the general conditions of this variation over the entire scale. This survey will, moreover, introduce us to the fundamental theory of Logic. But especially will it serve to place (for the first time, we dare affirm) the phenomena of language in that historically philosophical point of view, whereby alone we may hope to succeed in ever establishing its principles or classifying its varieties.

What is the fundamental distinction of these two celebrated categories? Is it intellectually arbitrary, or merely relative to the special purpose of the inquirer? Something of this sort would seem to be the notion of English philosophers generally, if we may judge from the accounts they give of the dependent topics of analysis and synthesis, syllogism and induction, about which it is well known no two of them agree with each other, and commonly not with themselves. Or is it grounded, according to the highest logical authorities of the day, upon the particular situation of the mind with relation to the constitution of the external world around it? In consequence of this condition, (say they,) certain objects are better known in the whole than in the parts; others, obvious in the parts, while their aggregates are incomprehensible. But by an axiom of Logic all reasoning is from the known to the unknown. Here there are two methods of procedure, inverse and independent of each other—from

generals to particulars, and from particulars to generals. And, it must be admitted, they coincide exactly with the purely physical division of the sciences above alluded to, into organic and inorganic. Also, that we have a more complete conception on the one hand of a whole animal, for instance, than of any particular organ or function of its system; and, on the other, of gravitation as it is experienced in a stone, than as it holds the planetary system, perhaps the universe, together. So far, then, this division has *happened* to be hitherto sufficiently in harmony with the effectual progress of science. But how should it receive the subjects of language, or logic, or jurisprudence; which, though eminently organic as arts, are, to most men, more familiar in the details? Besides that this priority of acquaintance seems a circumstance too vague and casual for a philosophical demarcation, it gives us, as was justly observed by Leibnitz respecting a kindred subject, not the origin of our notions, but the history of our discoveries.* Evidently, therefore, this principle, too, of the division must at least be shifted. Kant, we think, saw more profoundly;—he withdrew both the categories entirely from the external world, making them mere “forms of the understanding.” But, not being acquainted with his writings directly, we are willing to forego his now equivocal authority.

It is undoubtedly a great advance, in a scientific view especially, to have rendered the categories themselves subjective. But the ground of the division would seem only to become still more vague; seeing that time may be turned into space by merely throwing over it the conception of extension. This very circumstance, however, suggests a clue, we think, to our inquiry. It refers us to the idea of motion, which is, so to speak, a function, the common denominator of both time and space; and for the reason that it has been primordially the generator not alone of these conceptions themselves, but of every object they contain, individual as organical, moral as well as material. For man—the species in like manner as the individual—begins, of necessity, with perceiving everything in motion. It is only successively the mind can take in, or the sense travel over, the parts of an extended whole; and the action, the motion thus experienced subjectively by the percipient, is illusorily referred to the thing perceived. Hence the vague, unsteady gaze with which infants are observed to regard objects however still; just as adults do objects in rapid motion.

It is also the same illusion of infancy, settled into a *sentiment* in the adolescence of the race, that gives poetic *life* to the material world. Even bodies themselves are to us but a succession of similar

* *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement humain.*

impressions referred to a common source called a substrate. Natural groups are but the same thing, with perceptible intervals between the parts, and one of the objects for centre of reference. The objects termed abstract are likewise results of the same operation; that is to say, of mental action. For what we really behold in action, of whatsoever sort, is merely a succession of effects, or changes of state; even as a succession of impressions constituted our notion of material substances:—the only difference being, that in the latter case the changes take place in the mind; in the former, in external objects.

The series, too, of science, what are they but a creation, entirely similar, of a vast moral organism? So that science is simply a prolongation of the natural procedure of sense. Here, then, we find the co-existences, mental and material, present themselves in the character of results of this conceptual motion of the mind. The degree of its effectual progress, therefore, determines the general principle of the distinction in question, and designates, of a given subject, the place in the scale, or the proportions assignable to each of the categories.

But before applying the criterion thus obtained to the subject of language, with the present purpose of elucidating its appropriate method, it is important to our general theory to note, in advance, a few of the fundamental consequences which the preceding exposition suggests. For instance, it gives us the necessary terms of the entire evolution of the human mind; which, as it began with viewing all things in motion absolutely, so tends unceasingly to conceive them all as relatively at rest. Under the former view, man is necessarily the universal unit of all his perceptions. Every phenomenon is referred to a particular cause or force, such, at first, as he finds, or rather fancies, in himself; and after, those that too decisively transcend his notion of human power, he ascribes, from the same necessity, to certain preternatural agents; which in turn are substituted successively by others, according as their imaginary efficiency is belied by the course of events; their number diminishing while their attributions are extended, in proportion as the subject phenomena fall into classes more and more general, until the procession terminates in a single will—the Destiny of Paganism, for example—supposed to direct and dispose of all things by its sovereign decree.

Here, however, commenced a new order. Around the primordial basis of *inflexibility* arranged themselves those phenomena which were observed to recur with a uniformity that excluded all arbitrary, because it resisted an expected, intervention. Hence the earliest idea of *invariable* laws; which, thus discovering themselves first in the

most obvious, the simplest subjects, (such as astronomy, conversant with but the two notions of position and motion,) have continued gradually to descend upon the more complex and particular, and tend—like the earlier procedure, though by a route we have seen to be directly inverse—to the same principle of Unity, which is the great exigence of the intellect; the difference, however, (an immense one,) being that the one was the unity of a chimerical causation, of mere consistence; the other, the unity of positive co-ordination, of scientific system. This was, too, the dawn of science; which, like the great luminary of the physical world, brings to light, with its rising rays, only the mere summits of the mountains; but, as it culminates to the meridian, diffuses its influence down the declivities, rolling back the delusive and distorting mists of ignorance and error, until it shall finally wrap in a uniform radiance hill and vale alike.

It is remarkable that Bacon, who so forcibly characterizes both these extreme points of view, in the following passage, should at the same time have overlooked the intermediate progression, which he, moreover, in fact contributed so eminently to advance. *Omnes perceptiones (he observes) tam sensus quam mentis, sunt ex analogia hominis, non ex analogia universi; estque intellectus humanus instar speculi inæqualis ad radios rerum, qui suam naturam naturæ rerum immisset, eamque distorquet et inficit.* This is finely descriptive, it will be seen, of our primitive period of the intellect, when all its “perceptions” were subordinated to man. But when the perceptions of the “mind” come, as they daily do with the progress of science, to be submitted to the universal laws of nature,—to be *ex analogia mundi*,—assuredly the rays of knowledge become so far exempted from future diffraction or discoloration.

Now a mental revolution thus embracing modes of *conception* diametrically opposed, must inevitably have induced a corresponding transition in the form of *expression*. Accordingly it would furnish the rational basis for a classification of languages. It would account not only for the anomalies remaining still refractory, but also for the triple type of the established division, into Monosyllabic, Synthetic, and Analytic. These would be found to correspond with the three stages of this mental cycle characterized by the predominance of Sense, of Imagination, and of Intellect. Whence we might judge—aside from the evidence already so abundantly adduced, both of fact and argument—of the necessary manner and results of those inquiries into the principles and mechanism of Language which have taken absolutely no account of this fundamental transformation. For the rest, we notice the oversight less to censure an omission hitherto indeed universal, than to exhibit a rational ground of more

auspicious expectations for the real science of philology, while warranting, in some degree, provisionally, the scientific pretensions of the present suggestions.

And now for the application of our criterion of subjective motion or perceptive succession, to the special phenomena of language. To this end we may conveniently imagine the mind, individual or general, in the great intellectual evolution just explained, as bisecting the whole sphere of human contemplation, and thus distributing along its transit the several subjects, in whole or part, into either of the divisions or categories, according to the greater or lesser complication of the phenomena. In this way, for example, mathematics entirely, and, in large part, physics, chemistry, &c., would fall at present within the section of (subjective) co-existence, that is to say, science; while the more particular or complex subjects of organic existence remain as yet essentially absolute and afloat in the chaotic region of empiricism. But eminently so, of course, is that class of these systems termed moral or abstract; of which language is evidently one of the most complicated, and, for this reason, the most destitute of scientific cohesion. Nor is it entitled (as we have already explained) to a place in the category of co-existence even to the extent of its grammatical organization. Politics would have an equal claim, in virtue of their constitutional organism called the State; which likewise consists of parts, both co-existent and correlative. Now, the objects of the material world co-exist; but the perception of them, thus simply, is not therefore science. To object that Syntax is, on this ground, to be classed among the sciences, were to overlook the distinction we have been labouring to recommend—between things as they co-exist or succeed each other *objectively*, externally; and as they co-exist or cohere *subjectively*, scientifically. But worse than this; it would be to mistake the character (merely instrumental) of the principles of organization, for the essential laws of the phenomena. The former, we repeat, is, for practical ends, but the vessel that holds the spirit, the vase wherein the flower or fruit-tree is inserted; to the philosopher, but the scaffolding whereby to build his structure. This, however, is strictly applicable to the human species alone; of which it is perhaps the noblest distinction from the other animals, that the vegetative system is made subservient to the development of the moral and intellectual; whereas it retains, throughout the rest of organic creation, its primitive and natural predominance. This preliminary necessity of attaching *effects* (which are the sole concern of human inquiries) to substances—at first material objects, and subsequently moral organisms—together with the greater natural obviousness of the phenomena of this kind, gave them spontaneously an ear-

lier development in all the departments of knowledge successively, which has mischievously passed them, often for ages, as the real and whole science of the subject. Even Anatomy did not escape this preposterous abuse; as was well remarked by Fontanelle, who used to say of the anatomists of his day, "That they resembled the porters of Paris, who were familiar with all the streets of the city, down to the most obscure and suburban purlieu, but knew nothing of *what passed in the houses*." But our grammarians are constantly losing their way even in the open streets, each having an essentially different chart. The fundamental rectification of a point of view productive of such confusion and error would seem, of itself, a sufficient proof of the soundness and importance of the modification we have proposed; and which, as a final result of the discussion, places philology as yet entirely in the second and unscientific section, which might now be termed the category of Empiricism.

There are two terms sometimes applied to the categories of space and time, or organization and function, in the current and objective sense, which might be conveniently applied to them in our subjective acceptance. We have ourselves employed the word *statical* to designate the organic aspect of language. The correlative term *dynamical* is likewise borrowed from mechanics, where, for reasons abundantly explained, the logical importance of the distinction was earliest evolved. To "staticize" a phenomenon would import, then, to reduce it under scientific laws—to *integrate* it, if we may use the expression designative of the same procedure, in its application to transcendental Algebra, and the invention of which application was deemed, not over a century ago, of importance enough to illustrate the rival geniuses of even a Leibnitz and a Newton. The term "dynamical," which needs no verbal reform, will denote the region of knowledge, which, being in a condition of absolute particularity, or of uniformities merely empirical and sporadic, must be regarded, scientifically, as in a state of fluxion. Thus would be precisely characterized, we think, the operation of science, as turning the dynamical into the statical, the concrete into the abstract, quality into quantity; and science itself be placed in the imposing attitude of the divine spirit of Milton, reducing to order the rude materials abstracted from chaos, or (in the sublime language of the philosophic poet)

"Won from the void and formless infinite."

The inquiry is then reduced to a single point, to wit: By what *method*, by what mode of comparison, is this process to be performed upon language, destitute, as we have shown it to be, of the collateral media of philosophical investigation? The answer has been already

suggested: by a comparison of its successive states, which, by an admirable logical compensation, come in to supply the absence of an organical series. Of course, these states cannot now be all traced in the vicissitudes of a particular language; but they may be sufficiently represented, by the infinite variety of dialects to be found in almost all the grades of development. The problem then turns upon determining the *order* of the *succession*. But this cannot, of course, be even attempted rationally without a type, a theory; to which, by the way, we are thus again brought around by a new route, as the fundamental postulate. This once furnished, the investigation would proceed by a mutuality of impulsion; the laws of progression analyzing the organization indirectly, in explaining the corresponding functions or connotations; while the grammatical organization in turn serves to sustain and illustrate successively the logical march of the development. This is, then, the new modification of comparison sought, and which we expected to result naturally from an adequate explication of the special nature of the subject. It might be termed the *Historical*, or the *Dynamical Method*.

There now remains but to propose some principle for the preparatory arrangement of the subject, and to characterize the special extent to which it is to be considered.

Such an arrangement, we have seen, would present itself spontaneously, could any one of the forms of language be now traced consecutively from the primordial state to that of any of our modern dialects. How, then, may we best approximate this unattainable model? Obviously by selecting the language, or family of dialects, which may be similarly followed, with most sequence and certainty, through the largest section of the accomplished evolution. In this way, (instead of drifting chartless on the chaos of vocabularies and grammars,) having first prepared a sketch of the most general laws of the subject from the broadest historical basis, we shall have a nucleus and a criterion for the classification of the subordinate varieties, which in turn will react upon the main series, in rectifying or elucidating the corresponding subdivisions. The anomalies which might still resist this accessary co-ordination, would necessarily find their place at the primitive extremity of the line; thus happily bridging over the vacuum, otherwise impassable, in the infancy of speech, or at least planting it with stakes, over which philosophy may draw the chain of theory in attaching it to the primordial elements.

There exists an admirable resource of this description in the great family of languages known as the Indo-European, coeval with the whole historical existence of our race, and diffused beneath almost

every diversity of climate. This grand natural series is unbroken from the Sanscrit to the French. Beyond the Sanscrit, however, which some would still be found to consider the more perfect of the two languages—such is the utter absence of all philosophy upon this subject; beyond this, we say, there is certainly left at present a vast *terra incognita*. But we have to fill it up both the monosyllabic and the polysynthetic families; of which the Chinese and the American Indian idioms may be taken respectively as the extreme types. The co-ordination might then be made somewhat after the following manner: The Indo-European family would exhibit two of the three typical forms; its modern dialects presenting the sole specimens of the analytic structure, while the fountain idiom of Sanscrit offered, at the other extremity, the synthetic form in its utmost maturity of inflection. Accordingly this would be the proper place of the American group, which presents us the same synthetic system, but in that less freely inflected stage which led William Von Humboldt to designate them by the happy term “agglutinated.” Still a ruder form of this agglutination, a more imperfect condition of verbal composition and syntactic connexion, is known to characterize the Shemitic branch; and it should therefore be assigned a lower and more primitive place on the scale. After this, and last in order, should rank the Chinese, &c.; wherein all grammatical combination entirely disappears into the primordial elements of significant syllables.

Slight as is this sketch of a natural classification of languages, and insufficiently as it could be introduced and developed within the compass of two or three articles, yet the reader, we trust, will find no difficulty in deciding upon its merits, in comparison at least with the only accredited attempt of the German philologists; a scheme which is chargeable with the double absurdity of taking what are only the extreme divergencies of form, for so many *kinds* of language, independent in origin and co-ordinate in constitution: whereas they are, we see, in reality, the complementary sections of one and the same progressive series.

But to the latter part of our arrangement there is a much more plausible objection. How, it may be asked, can the Chinese and Hebrew be assigned a lower position on the scale of language than the American-Indian idioms, seeing that the latter are the invention of segregate and savage tribes, while the others have been and are the tongues of semi-civilized nations? The explanation has been often broached in reference to the Chinese idiom; though never, we believe, firmly insisted upon, probably because not fully understood. It is, that the Chinese and the Shemitic groups had been arrested in their syntactic development, both prematurely, though at widely dif-

ferent stages, by the supervention of the art of writing; whereas the Americans, dissevered from all the rest of the world, were left to draw out and elaborate their verbal tissue unimpeded or unrelieved by the anticipated expedients of civilization; even as the Hindoos had been, we doubt not, amid the primeval solitude or savagedom of the old continents. It is curiously confirmatory to remark in the disparity of development between the Chinese and the Hebrew, for instance, an exact correspondence to the two successive stages of the alleged obstacle also, at the periods of its introduction to either people; these stages of the art of writing being well known to be, in the case of the Chinese, the symbolical: in that of the Hebrews, the much later one denominated the alphabetic. In short, the manifest effect of such an importation upon an infant community must have been, by furnishing it an *objective* and *material* medium of combining its vocal signs, to dispense the feeble intellect from the painful effort to combine them orally by the abstract ties of syntax. And an effect again of this artificial medium would be to divert the oral development into a different channel—for to suppress it would be impossible, save in so far as its place might be supplied. Accordingly, we find it pullulate in the vowel-points of Hebrew; which this observation would of itself prove to be a modern invention, and necessitated by the grammatical rudeness of this idiom. It has branched forth in the Chinese into a system of accentuation, which makes that anomalous tongue, to the eye at least, one of the most copious of languages. In fine, we have no doubt that this solution of the anomaly is quite susceptible of demonstration, and will one day be attested by history. But this is not the place or time to enter upon either line of evidence. And moreover, the facts themselves, which cannot be denied, are all we were concerned with for the purpose of classification.

ART. VII.—THE JORDAN AND THE DEAD SEA.

Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea. By W. F. LYNCH, U. S. N., Commander of the Expedition. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1849.

THE most sacred and revered portions of the earth are mountains and rivers. The first awaken the religious sensibilities of man by their sublimity, and the last by their beauty and beneficence. In remote and superstitious ages the emotions they inspired assumed the form of religious adoration, which, by a very easy transition, invested the objects of worship with divine virtues. Hence religious

houses have clustered upon the sides, and crowned the summits of sacred mountains; and the most precious possessions, even children, have been cast into the waters of holy rivers. While the Nile is revered by the Mohammedans, the Ganges worshipped by the Pagans, the Christian's respect and worship are attracted by the Jordan. With the exception of the environs of Jerusalem, there is not on earth any scenery that awakens such deep and varied emotions in the Christian's heart as the scenery of the Jordan. Its relation to the most sacred mountain in the world; the grandeur, beauty, and gloom of its banks; the recollection of divine events it has witnessed, and of heroic deeds which have been done upon its borders, and its connexion with the life of the Saviour, may well invest it with wondrous interest to the intelligent Christian, and inspire with over-mastering superstition the heart of the man of ignorant and implicit faith. From its source to its termination, it is written all over with deeds which lie at the foundation of society, and illustrate the wonderful providence of God towards man.

A glance at the map will show, that in the original formation of the earth a vast mountain-range stretched from the Lebanons, on the north, to the Indian Ocean, on the south. The subterranean fires which upheaved it subsequently cleft it lengthwise, beginning at the foot of Mount Hermon, on the north, and extending southward to the Straits of Babelmandel. In this deep cleft, which the Arabs of the country still call the Ghor, or chasm, now lie the Jordan, the Dead Sea, the Wady Arabah, and the eastern arm of the Red Sea; and each side, throughout its whole length, is bordered by precipitous mountains. It will be subsequently seen, that the researches of Capt. Lynch strongly support the suggestion of Laborde, that before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as recorded in the Bible, the sweet and fertilizing waters of the Jordan ran through this whole valley, and found an outlet into the Red Sea. Upon its borders to the southward probably lay the land of Uz, the country of Job; while we know that "all the plain of the Jordan was well watered everywhere before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt." Gen. xiii, 10.

It is the upper regions of the Jordan, above and around the Lake Gennesareth, and the lower portion of it, near the Dead Sea, that have such intense interest for the Christian. The snow-waters of Mount Hermon, percolating through the rock formations on its southern slopes, collect into ponds, from which rivulets flow southward, and concentrate in the little lake Huleh, about seven miles north of Gennesareth. These waters enter the Huleh by two streams run-

ning nearly parallel through a morass. The eastern one gushes from the rocky cavern of Banias, at the base of Mount Hermon. This is the Jordan.* The crystal waters flow from the cave still dignified by the name of a heathen deity, (Pan,) to whom the fountain was consecrated in the time of the Romans, and whose memorials may still be traced on the impending cliffs.

From the Huleh, which is the *Merom* of the Bible, the Jordan runs southward about seven miles, and then expands into the Lake Gennesareth, which is about twelve miles long by six or seven broad. Its clear, sweet waters lie deeply sunken amid the surrounding limestone mountains, every one of which was hallowed by the presence and gaze of our Saviour. Let us sail slowly over this Sea of Galilee, the chief scene of the miracles and ministry of Jesus. Far to the north, we see the summit of the snowy Hermon leaning high up against the azure sky. Close at hand, a little to the west of north, the white and sacred city of Safed impends high over the sea. To it, probably, our Saviour pointed when he said, "Ye are as a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid." The cone-like summit of Mount Tabor, on which our Lord is supposed to have been transfigured, is seen to the south-west, peering above the subordinate hills, and commanding a view of Gilboa and the fountain of Jezreel; to the west, looking immediately down into the lake, we see the Mount of Beatitudes, where Jesus taught in a sermon the essence of his holy religion. As we sail slowly around the shores, we behold the ruins of Bethsaida, Capernaum, and Chorazin crumbling in the deep shadows of the overhanging mountains, amid whose desolate gorges and cliffs we seem still to hear the terrible words of Jesus: "Wo unto thee, Chorazin! wo unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which have been done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have remained unto this day. Verily I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for you."

But we must not linger upon this beautiful sheet of water, amid these absorbing associations. We must drift southward to the outlet of the Jordan, and follow its course, led, we believe, by the only sure guide known to Christendom; we mean the narrative of Capt. Lynch, of the United States Navy, who commanded the expedition to explore the Jordan and the Dead Sea, under the authority of the late national administration. The only official, and therefore only authentic narrative of this very remarkable and important expedi-

* Commander Lynch considers the larger and more copious stream to the west the Jordan. In this respect they are like the Mississippi and Missouri: the shortest bears away the palm.

tion, is that named at the head of this article. It is not only a valuable contribution to Biblical knowledge and the cause of science, but it is also a book of great interest, fraught with thrilling passages of personal dangers, and abounding in picturesque and striking description.

On the 10th of April, Lieut. Lynch and his party, in two boats belonging to the ships which had been left at Acre, and one small frail craft purchased at Tiberias, passed from the Sea of Galilee into the Jordan. At first the river was three-quarters of a mile wide, with a sloping and undulating country on the west, and the eastern bank broken up into gullies and alluvial hills. In an hour it narrowed to seventy-five feet, banks thirty feet high, and rising and retiring away to the mountains which border the valley of the Jordan on either side. On both sides of the river, the banks and hills were covered with grass and a profusion of wild flowers, among which were the lily, anemone, oleander, and marigold. The water was clear, and from eight to ten feet deep. Scarcely were our travellers satisfied in gazing on this sweet scene, when they heard the roar of a cataract; and in a few minutes they saw, with astonishment and dismay, the waters rushing and leaping headlong down the narrow rocky channel. During their seven days' voyage on the Jordan, they encountered more than a score of these dangerous cataracts; and that the reader may have an idea of them, I give the author's description of the descent of one or two:—

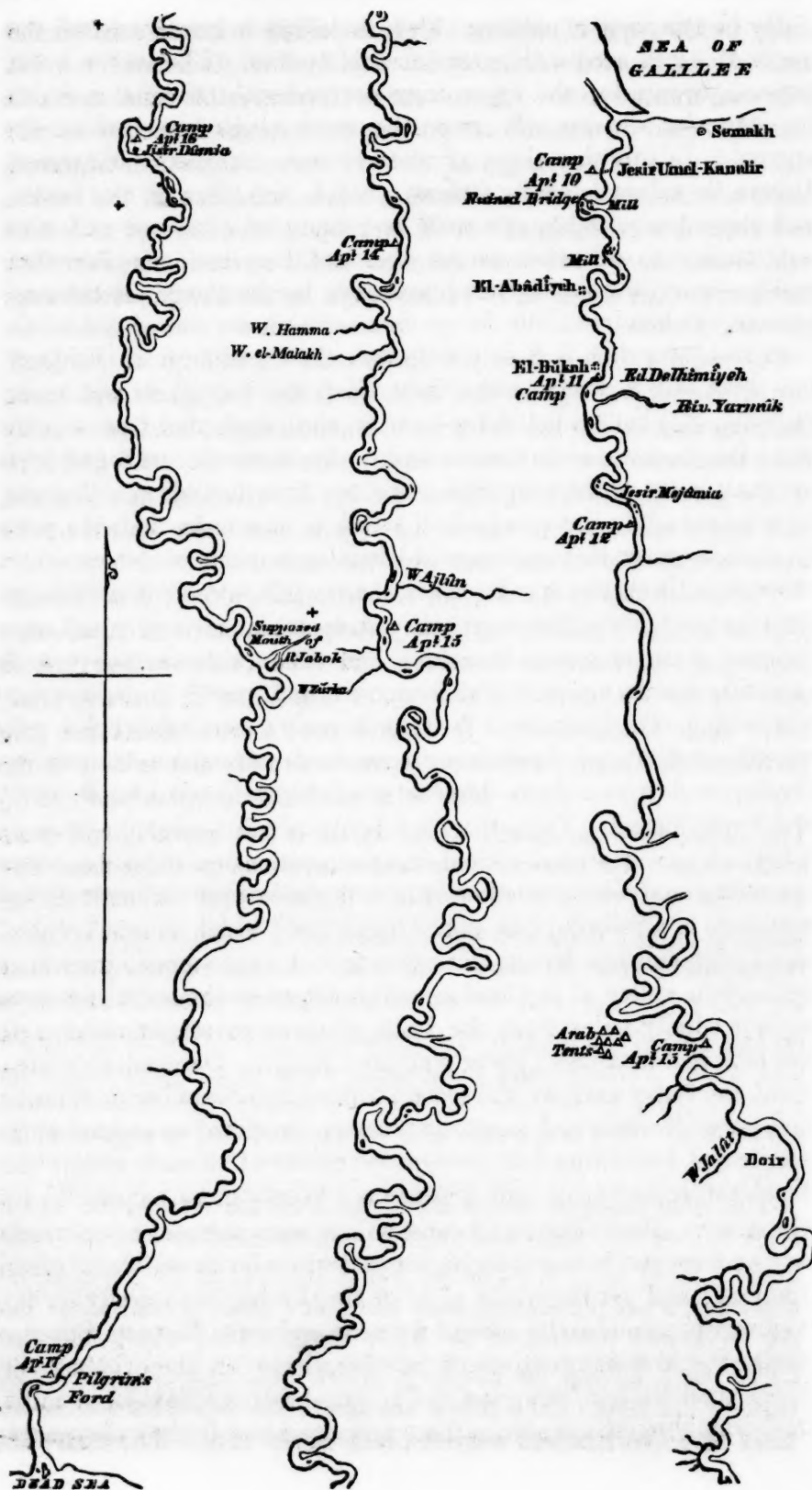
"We halted at the ruins of an old bridge, now forming obstructions, over which the foaming river rushed like a mountain torrent. The river was about thirty yards wide. Soon after we halted, the boats hove in sight around a bend of the river. See! the Fanny Mason attempts to shoot between two old piers! she strikes upon a rock! she broaches to! she is in imminent danger! down comes the Uncle Sam upon her! now they are free! the Fanny Skinner follows safely, and all are moored in the cove below!"

Scarcely had they recovered from the excitement and fatigue of this first descent, when, the Lieutenant records,—

"The current at first about two and a half knots, but increasing as we descended, until at 8.20 we came to where the river, for more than three hundred yards, was one foaming rapid; the fishing-weirs and the ruins of another ancient bridge obstructing the passage. There were cultivated fields on both sides. Took everything out of the boats, sent the men overboard to swim alongside and guide them, and shot them successively down the first rapid. The water was fortunately very deep to the first fall, where it precipitated itself over a ledge of rocks. The river becoming more shallow, we opened a channel by removing large stones, and as the current was now excessively rapid, we pulled well out into the stream, bows up, let go a grapnel, and eased each boat down in succession. Below us were yet five successive falls, about eighteen feet in all, with rapids between,—a perfect breakdown in the bed of the river. It was very evident that the boats could not descend them."

By clearing out a side canal, which had been cut to conduct the water to a mill now in ruins, the boats were brought below the worst part of the rapids; and by making a breach in the canal, so as to let the water flow into the river, they were again launched on the current. In this way the party cleared three successive cataracts. Others they descended by fastening ropes to bushes on the banks, and thus easing the boats in their descent.

Capt. Lynch describes the Jordan as a very tortuous river, (as will be seen by the sketch from his chart on the next page,) measuring at least two hundred miles by its channel from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, while it is only sixty miles in a straight line. It flows in a deep bed, in some places from thirty to forty yards wide, and in some two hundred. When narrow, the depth was from five to eight feet in the middle of April, and the current from four to six miles an hour; when wide, from two to three feet deep, and from two and a half to three and a half miles an hour. In the wide portions of the river there are many little islands, some of them thickly covered with shrubs, reeds, canes, and wild flowers; others only sand-bars. The banks are generally steep, often perpendicular, composed of loam, clay, and limestone, and from twelve to thirty, and even fifty feet in height. The loam, clay, and gravel, in the form of alluvial deposits, increase as the river advances to the Dead Sea, and accordingly the water becomes more and more discoloured. During the first and second day's descent it was clear, then became milky, and finally turbid. From the bluff banks which border the stream, a fertile lower or second bottom, in some portions quite level, in others rolling and filled with low hills and shallow gullies, extends on each side to a second plain, much higher, and which is much wider, more hilly, and less fertile, and extends back to the mountains which enclose the valley of the Jordan. The upper portions of the valley, say for twenty miles from the Lake of Gennesareth, is wider, and the hills and mountains lower and more fertile. Descending southward, the valley narrows, the second bottom or plateau becomes lower and lower, the hills and mountains increase in elevation and are more sterile and forbidding, being composed chiefly of volcanic rocks; the temperature increases, and vegetation becomes more tropical in its character. The valley on the west side is narrower and more sterile and broken, and bounded by higher and gloomier mountains than on the east; and yet the whole plain of the Jordan is naturally fertile, and was populous and powerful not only under the Romans, but also under the Mohammedans, both of whom have left the evidences of their presence and power in the ruined bridges, dilapidated mills, and crumbling khans which are everywhere found in the valley, espe-



cially in the upper portion. Our travellers frequently found the upper plains covered with grass and wild flowers. The narrow lower bottoms, dipping to the water, were covered with thickets, in which the willow, the acacia, and some other trees mingle, rising above the almost impenetrable jungle of undergrowth, composed of grasses, flowers, vines, and canes. These thickets mingle with the water, and abound with birds of varied and beautiful plumage, and with wild beasts, among which are the tiger and the boar. The lion also, perhaps, yet lies down, as in ancient days, by the margin of the consecrated Jordan.

Commander Lynch does not discuss the "swellings of Jordan," but incidentally mentions that drift-wood was lodged so high up in the trees that border the water, as to leave no doubt but that it overflows the secondary, or lower bottom. Between the 10th and 17th of April, he observed that during one day the river fell two feet, and he found it necessary to hasten his voyage, lest there should not be water enough to float the boats over the cataracts.

The tributaries to the Jordan are inconsiderable. With the exception of the Yarmakh and the Jabok, there were in April only occasional rills reaching the river. The Yarmakh is described as entering the Jordan on the east, about four miles, in a straight line, below Lake Gennesareth. It rises in the Hauran Mountains, (the Bashan of Scripture,) and at its mouth is as wide and as deep as the Jordan. ("Forty yards wide, with moderate current."—P. 191.) The author says the mouth of the Jabok is not correctly laid down in the maps. He places it only twelve miles north of the Dead Sea, while the maps place it thirty-five. He says it is "a small stream trickling down a deep and wide torrent bed; water sweet; is incorrectly placed upon the maps."—P. 253. As the eastern portion of the valley is wider, and the mountains farther removed and more broken and fertile, the principal tributaries to the river flow from the east, as the Yarmakh and the Jabok; while on the west only little rills or rattling rivulets descend from the nearer, sterner, and steeper mountains. This is the case also, as we shall see, in respect to the Dead Sea.

The inhabitants on either bank are Bedouin Arabs, who live in black hair or skin tents, and subsist upon the produce of their scanty flocks. They are not numerous, but of the fiercest and most savage character, often plundering each other, and making incursions into the cultivated portions of the Holy Land. They are divided into tribes, each having its territory, which sometimes occupies both sides of the river. The tribes are small, the largest mustering not more than five hundred warriors, and others fifty. The men scorn

to cultivate the soil; and when one of the chiefs was asked why he did not, he scornfully replied, "Do you think I am a fellah?" i. e., a husbandman. And when told the most powerful and honourable men of our country tilled the ground, he replied by a smile of mingled incredulity and contempt. The women, like the donkeys and camels, are the camp-drudges, and perform their labour the more easily, as they are encumbered by only one scant and thin garment; while the children, "naked as cherubim in a church picture," sport with the young camels and the dogs. Their kitchen and their evening meal are thus described:—

"We were amused this evening at witnessing an Arab kitchen in full operation. The burning embers of a watch-fire were scraped aside, and the heated ground scooped in a hollow to the depth of six or eight inches, and about two feet in diameter. Within this hole was laid, with scrupulous exactness of fit and accommodation to its concave surface, a mass of half-kneaded dough, made of flour and water. The coals were again raked over it, and the fire replenished. A huge pot of rice was then placed upon the fire, into which, from time to time, a quantity of liquid butter was poured, and the compound stirred with a stout branch of a tree, not entirely denuded of its leaves. When the mess was sufficiently cooked, the pot was removed from the fire, the coals again withdrawn, and the bread taken from its primitive oven. Besmeared with dirt and ashes, and dotted with cinders, it bore few evidences of being an article of food. In consistency, as well as in outward appearance, it resembled a long-used blacksmith's apron, rounded off at the corners. The dirtiest ash-pone of the southern negro would have been a delicacy compared to it.

"The whole party gathered round the pot in the open air, and each one, tearing off a portion of the leather-bread, worked it into a scoop or spoon, and, dipping pell-mell into the pilau, made a voracious meal, treating the spoons as the Argonauts served their tables, eating them for dessert. With a wash in the Jordan, they were immediately after ready for sleep, and in half an hour were as motionless as the heaps of baggage around them."—Pp. 250, 251.

And yet these savages have some sacred points of honour, and are susceptible of the tender sentiments of love. On several occasions, when the evening meal was finished, the camp-fires lighted, and the watch set, some one of the party would make rude music on the rudest of stringed instruments, (one string,) accompanied with sentimental poetry, of which here is a specimen, translated and versified:—

"At her window, from afar,
I saw my love, my Bedawiyeh,
Her eyes shone through her white kināa,
It made me feel quite faint to see her."

As a specimen of the point of honour, take the following incident between 'Akil, the powerful sheikh who had command of the caravan, and the Nassir, or chief of one of the powerful tribes in the valley of the Jordan:—

"Last year, while in rebellion against the government, 'Akil, at the head

of his Bedawin followers, had swept these plains, and carried off a great many horses, cattle, and sheep; among them the droves and herds of the Nassir. There had, in consequence, been little cordiality between them since they met at Tiberias; but, to-night, Nassir asked 'Akil if he did not think that he had acted very badly in carrying off his property. The latter answered no; that Nassir was then his enemy, and that he, 'Akil, had acted according to the usages of war among the tribes. The Nassir then asked about the disposition made of various animals, and especially of a favourite mare. 'Akil said that he had killed so many of the sheep, given so many away, and sold the rest; the same with the cattle and horses. As to the mare, he said he had taken a fancy to her, and that it was the one he now rode. This the Emir knew full well.

"After some further conversation, Nassir proposed that they should bury all wrongs and become brothers. To this 'Akil assented. The former, thereupon, plucked some grass and earth, and lifting up the corner of 'Akil's aba, placed them beneath it; and then the two Arabs, embracing, with clasped hands swore eternal brotherhood.

"When questioned, immediately after, upon the subject, 'Akil stated that so obligatory was the oath of fraternity, that should he hereafter carry off anything from a hostile tribe, which had once, no matter how far back, been taken from the Emir, he would be bound to restore it."—P. 237.

On the 18th of April, the eighth day of their voyage on the Jordan, the Expedition emerged into the plain of Jericho, with the Mountains of Moab on their left, the terrible wilderness of Judea on their right, and the Dead Sea before them. They encamped at the Pilgrims' Ford, where the Christian crowds were to bathe on the following morning. A beautiful engraving illustrates this interesting scene. Let us take our stand on the bank, where the pilgrim host is seen descending to the water, while the American boats, with their crews, are anchored in the stream. All are evidently filled with wonder and reverence. And well they may be; for on the distant range of the Mountains of Moab, seen beyond the river, the hosts of Israel appeared more than three thousand years ago, under the conduct of Moses and Joshua. Upon one of those perceptible summits stood Moses and gazed upon the Promised Land, while the Lord said unto him, "This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither." Moses cast his eyes down the western declivity of the mountain, and saw his people encamped "in the plains of Moab," by the side of the river. He gazed for a moment, sad, yet full of hope and resignation, and then died in peace over against the Promised Land. For him, during thirty days, the sighing of the old at evening, and the wail of the young in the morning, were heard along the banks of the river.

The time of possession had come: God had conducted the people to the gate of their future home. But it was harvest-time, and the

swellings of the Jordan were at their height. (Joshua iii, 15.) As the day dawned the whole camp was in motion; the tents were struck; each tribe marshalled under its own banner; while at the edge of the rushing flood stood Joshua, pointing with the "rod of God" to the spot where the advancing priests, bearing the ark, were to step into the water. With unwavering tread they approached; and as their sacred feet touched the whirling flood, it recoiled backwards, and stood as a high wall above them, while below it rolled away to the Dead Sea, laying bare the deep bed of the river. Here the ark of God rested on the bottom until the whole host had "passed over on dry ground," and stood in silent wonder on the very spot where the pilgrims are seen in the foreground of the picture. As the ark came up from beneath the wall of water, the floods returned. Then the air was rent with a shout of triumph which startled the city of Jericho at hand, and died away amid the hills of Palestine.

More than a thousand years passed away, when on this same spot appeared an austere man, of commanding form and powerful voice, whose life had been spent in the terrible wilderness which borders the plain of Jericho to the west, and, lifting his hand on high, he cried to his guilty countrymen, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." He required them to be baptized in the Jordan, as a symbol of the cleansing power of this kingdom. The pungent reproofs, and the earnest faith of the Baptist, drew the whole country to the river; and the streets of Jerusalem became silent, because in penitence and hope the inhabitants had gone down to be baptized. Suddenly the Baptist paused in his holy work; and, agitated and silent, he stood looking intently on a meek but heavenly form that was approaching for baptism. John recoiled from the holy and mysterious person, and "forbade him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? And Jesus said, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." The vast multitude breathed not, as these two mysterious beings descended into the water. As the sacred person of Jesus ascended from the river, a mild illumination, in the form of a "dove," crowned his blessed head; and the multitude was suddenly awakened to a comprehension of the great event, by "a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him."

Nearly two thousand years have rolled away since this great event, and yet its powerful associations are felt throughout the Christian world. By the 15th of April of each year, a vast crowd of men, women, and children, from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America,

are assembled in Jerusalem. As the morning dawns on Mount Olivet, the Mohammedan governor of the city, with an imposing military brigade, is seen deploying through the Damascus gate, while the pilgrims, some on foot, some on horseback, some on camels, some on donkeys, are assembled outside of St. Stephen's gate: the aged and sick, the women and children, are in baskets or large panniers slung over the backs of camels. As the gay cortège of the Turk winds round the western and southern slope of Olivet, the Christian host, in the most picturesque confusion, follows in his train for protection. At eventide they are on the plains of Jericho, about a mile from the Jordan. The gay tent of the governor is the centre of the thousand groups which, under the open heavens, are assembled around their little fires. These die out as the night advances, but sleep comes not to the weary and excited multitudes; for they are to bathe to-morrow morning in the Jordan, where the Lord of life and glory was baptized. At three o'clock, A. M., the camp is in motion, and the columns advance, in eager disorder, to the margin of the river. The lusty swimmer leaps into the sacred flood—the timid female seizes the branch of a willow-tree, and lets herself down three times beneath the water—the feeble old man's step is steadied by his brawny son, and as he comes up from the stream he feels that he is content, for the purposes of his life are accomplished. Suddenly a faint shriek is heard, and a shiver, first of horror, and then of joy, runs through the multitude. The rapid current has carried away a pilgrim; and she finds an enviable burial in the holy river.

Scarcely two hours have elapsed, and the vast multitude is retracing its steps across the sandy plain, bearing on high branches of willow, acacia, or cane, which they have plucked from the banks and dipped into the sacred waters. An hour more, and the rear portions of that wonderful throng have disappeared high up in the dark craggy mountains of the wilderness of Judea, and at night will sleep under the walls of Jerusalem, around the garden of Gethsemane and the tomb of the blessed Virgin—in the valley of the Kidron.

Let us now return to the Expedition on the banks of the Jordan, and accompany it while it explores the mysterious and fearful Dead Sea, whose waves cover Sodom and Gomorrah, the accursed of the Lord.

The caravan moved away to the south-west, with instructions to encamp at Ain Feshkhah, or the Fountain of Feshkhah, situated on the margin of the Dead Sea, about five miles south of the north-west corner. The boats descended the Jordan from the Pilgrims'

Ford, which is about four or five miles from the mouth of the river. At first the width was about thirty to thirty-five yards, and from ten to twelve feet deep; the shore was bluff on the right, and composed of red clay; the bottom was of blue mud; while the left bank was low and marshy, and covered with cane. As they advanced the river widened, depth lessened, bottom soft mud, banks lower, until at the mouth it was one hundred and eighty yards wide, three feet deep, banks low and marshy, recently overflowed; mud islands in the mouth of the river, which projects some distance into the sea, with low banks of mud on either side. Behind the left or eastern bank quite a bay makes up, while the western bank falls away westward a little north, and then sweeps round to the south, forming the northwest corner of the Dead Sea.

The Expedition was eight days on the Jordan, and had sailed two hundred miles, and yet were but sixty miles from the lake of Gennesareth, at the south end of which they entered the river. In their descent they had "plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great many of lesser magnitude." P. 265. The difference between the level of the river at its outlet from Gennesareth and its entrance into the Dead Sea, is not given in the Narrative; but other authorities make it 984 feet, the lake being 328 feet below the Mediterranean, and the Dead Sea 1312. (*Royal Geog. Soc.*, London, 1843.) And yet the reader is requested to bear in mind that the mountains, and indeed the general level of the country, on either side of the river, rise, rather than decline, from the Lake to the Sea. It is this increasing elevation of the mountains, and rapid sinking down of the river, that produces the tropical, indeed almost equatorial climate of the Ghor, and the caldron-like appearance of the Dead Sea. A single glance at the region will convince any intelligent man that it is volcanic.

Fairly launched on this deep and fearful gulf, they steered to the south-west, intending to make the encampment at Ain Feshkhah, about six miles distant, in a straight line; but they were suddenly greeted by that mysterious discouragement, which has passed into a saying among the Arabs, that "no man can sail on that sea, and live." The commander confesses that he thought of the fates of poor Molyneaux and Costigan, both of whom had lately perished by their expeditions. The Narrative says:—

"The sea continued to rise with the increasing wind, which gradually freshened to a gale, and presented an agitated surface of foaming brine; the spray, evaporating as it fell, left incrustations of salt upon our clothes, our hands, and faces; and while it conveyed a prickly sensation wherever it touched the skin, was, above all, exceedingly painful to the eyes. The boats, heavily laden, struggled sluggishly at first; but when the wind freshened in its fierceness,

from the density of the water, it seemed as if their bows were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea.

"At 3.50, passed a piece of drift-wood, and soon after saw three swallows and a gull. At 4.55, the wind blew so fiercely that the boats could make no headway; not even the Fanny Skinner, which was nearer to the weather shore, and we drifted rapidly to leeward: threw over some of the fresh water, to lighten the Fanny Mason, which laboured very much, and I began to fear that both boats would founder.

"At 5.40, finding that we were losing every moment, and that, with the lapse of each succeeding one, the danger increased, kept away for the northern shore, in the hope of being yet able to reach it; our arms, our clothes, and skins coated with a greasy salt; and our eyes, lips, and nostrils, smarting excessively.

"At times it seemed as if the dread Almighty frowned upon our efforts to navigate a sea, the creation of his wrath. There is a tradition among the Arabs that no one can venture upon this sea and live. Repeatedly the fates of Costigan and Molyneaux had been cited to deter us.

"But, although the sea had assumed a threatening aspect, and the fretted mountains, sharp and incinerated, loomed terrific on either side, and salt and ashes mingled with its sands, and fetid sulphurous springs trickled down its ravines, we did not despair: awe-struck, but not terrified; fearing the worst, yet hoping for the best, we prepared to spend a dreary night upon the dreariest waste we had ever seen.

"At 5.58, the wind instantaneously abated, and with it the sea as rapidly fell; the water, from its ponderous quality, settling as soon as the agitating cause had ceased to act. Within twenty minutes from the time we bore away from a sea which threatened to engulf us, we were pulling away, at a rapid rate, over a placid sheet of water, that scarcely rippled beneath us."—Pp. 268, 269.

Shallow water and a fetid marsh prevented a landing at the camp; they therefore debarked at some distance south of it, at eight in the evening. As the water was neither good nor plentiful at Feshkhah, the commander determined to go down the coast southward some fifteen miles to Ain Gidy, (the Fountain of Engedi of the Bible,) where they found abundance of sweet water for cooking and bathing. Here they established their depot: and set up their tents; and from this place they made their explorations. This was their home, and they dignified it with the name of *Camp Washington*. It was placed under the protection of Sherif, the sacred Arab who had continually accompanied the Expedition, assisted by a detachment of four soldiers sent for the purpose by the governor of Jerusalem. Some half a hundred of lean, feeble, ragged Bedouins of the neighbourhood hung around the camp to bring water, gather wood, and do any drudgery required.

We shall not follow the Narrative in our subsequent pages, but rather group the results of the observations on this hitherto unexplored Sea. It stretches from the mouth of the Jordan, nearly due south, a distance of forty miles, and is of a nearly uniform breadth of between eight and nine miles, being quite nine in the middle parts,

and a little less than eight at the north and south ends. The line of coast on the east and west is somewhat serpentine, but there are no bold or far-projecting promontories, except the peninsula at the south end. At each point where the several principal gorges reach the sea, the torrent, during the rainy season, has brought down much débris, and spread it along the beach in a low projecting bar, sufficient to alter the line of the coast, and form what the Arabs call a *ras* or promontory. This is particularly the case at the entrance of the Kidron on the west, and the Wady Zerka Main, the Callirhoe or Warm Springs of Josephus, and the Wady Mojeb, or Arnon of Scripture, on the east. At the mouths of these ravines, and wherever sweet water moistens the cliffs or shore, there is vegetation luxuriant in proportion to the abundance of the water. At Ain Gidy, about midway of the western coast, there is an abundance of sweet water, and a luxuriant vegetation, consisting of various kinds of trees, shrubs, canes, and wild flowers. They adorn the path of the water as it comes down the cliff from the copious limestone fountain, four hundred feet above the sea. (*Robinson.*) On the south-east coast, at the entrance of Wadys Safieh and Kerak, there is a still more abundant vegetation, and some tillage; and also on the eastern coast, at the entrance of Wadys Mojeb (Arnon) and Zerka Main, (Warm Springs,) there are canes, flowers, and shrubs. And in various spots along the shore, where sweet water moistens the beach, there are patches of canes and wild flowers.

The eastern and western shores are bordered with lofty, gloomy, sterile, incinerated mountains, chiefly of limestone, which impend over this Bahr Lût, (or Sea of Lot, as the Arabs call it to this day,) leaving only here and there a little space between their bases and the water. They are more precipitous and lofty on the eastern than on the western shore, and have less beach at their base. To look upon at a little distance, they seem to be a compound of iron slag and ashes. The northern end of the Sea, where the Jordan enters, is bordered chiefly by the Plain of Jericho, and the mountains fall away somewhat to the west and east; while towards the south end the mountains sink down gradually, are more broken, and recede a little to the east and west, thus opening to view the great Wady Arabah, or Sandy Valley, which extends southward to the Red Sea. At the south-west corner of the Sea stands a remarkable subordinate ridge of salt, about one hundred feet high, which the Arabs still call *Hajr Usdum*, or Stone of Sodom. It was on this salt mountain Commander Lynch discovered the remarkable pillar of salt, which, by some means or other, yet without any authority on his

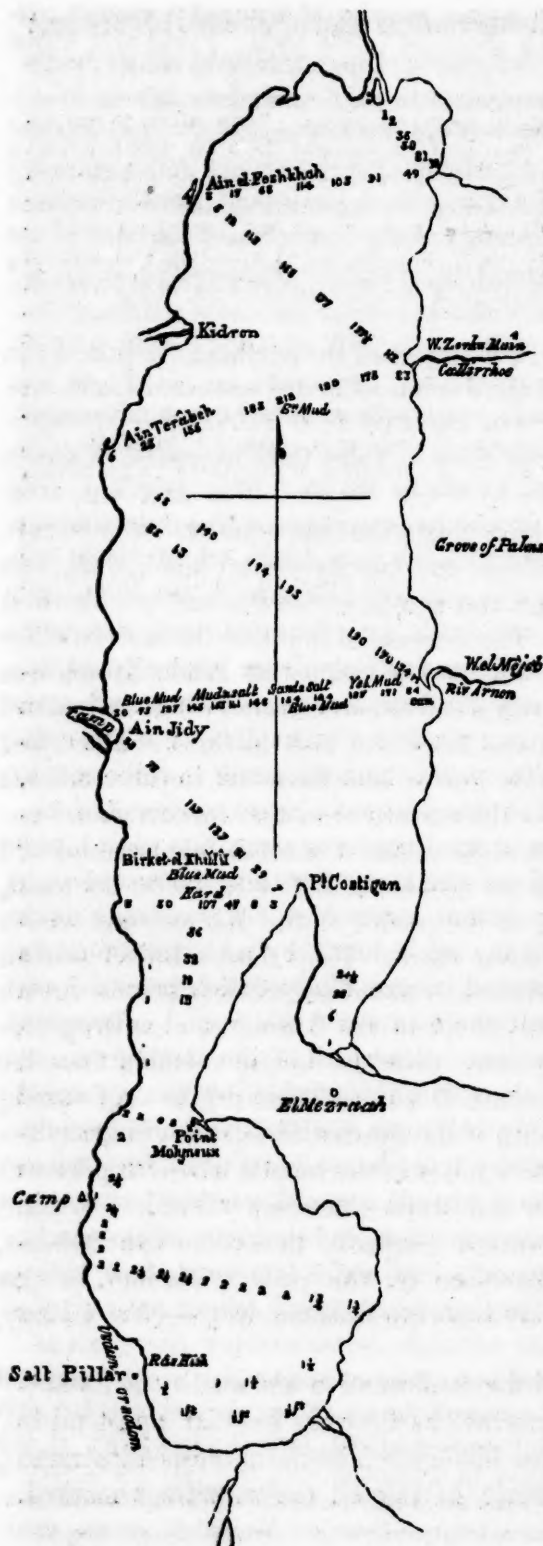
part, he has been supposed to affirm was Lot's wife. His account of it is this :—

" At 9, the water shoaling, hauled more off shore. Soon after, to our astonishment, we saw on the eastern side of Usdum, one-third the distance from its north extreme, a lofty round pillar, standing apparently detached from the general mass, at the head of a deep, narrow, and abrupt chasm. We immediately pulled in for the shore, and Dr. Anderson and I went up and examined it. The beach was a soft, slimy mud, incrusting with salt, and, a short distance from the water, covered with saline fragments and flakes of bitumen. We found the pillar to be of solid salt, capped with carbonate of lime, cylindrical in front and pyramidal behind. The upper or rounded part is about forty feet high, resting on a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. It slightly decreases in size upwards, crumbles at the top, and is one entire mass of crystallization. A prop, or buttress, connects it with the mountain behind, and the whole is covered with debris of a light stone colour. Its peculiar shape is doubtless attributable to the action of the winter rains.

" At 10.10, returned to the boat with large specimens. The shore was soft and very yielding for a great distance; the boats could not get within two hundred yards of the beach, and our foot-prints made on landing, were, when we returned, incrusting with salt."—Pp. 307, 308.

The southern coast is low and marshy, rising very gradually southward into the mouth of Wady Arabah, and terminating against a lofty precipitous chalk bluff, from six to ten miles distant. The consequence is, that the water-line varies here from one to three miles, as the sea is full or low. The marshes are almost inaccessible, being composed of salt, bitumen, marl, and the most intensely bitter salt water, thickened with slime, and every dry thing incrusting with salt; and this horrible compound at a very high temperature. It is bordered to the south, under the chalk bluffs, by a thicket of canes and shrubs. Farther to the east, where Wady Safieh comes down from the mountains of Moab, there is sweet water, and cultivation not far from the sea. About ten miles north of the southern coast, and attached to the eastern shore, is a remarkable peninsula, formed by the upheaving of a desolate precipitous chalk-hill, extending northward some six miles, with a bay lying between its northern portion and the eastern shore. The peninsula extends westward to within two and a half miles of the western coast, and thus cuts off the southern end of the sea in the form of a bay, which is very shallow, being (April 20th) at no place more than two fathoms deep.—(*See Chart on the following page.*)

The depth of the sea, and the conformation and quality of its bottom, are matters of great interest, as they are peculiar, and tend to throw light on the Scripture history. The narrative is illustrated by a fine map on a large scale, having all the soundings marked.



The accompanying map is sketched from the author's, but has not all the soundings and places, nor the mountains. The Expedition spent twenty-two days on this gloomy and pestiferous sea, encountering its deleterious siroccos, inhaling its fetid exhalations, sweltering under its burning sun, and often covered with a greasy, bitter salt, deposited from the mist or the spray in which they were often enveloped; and their conclusion is as follows:—

"The inference from the Bible, that this entire chasm was a plain sunk and 'overwhelmed' by the wrath of God, seems to be sustained by the extraordinary character of our soundings. The bottom of this sea consists of two submerged plains, an elevated and a depressed one; the first averaging *thirteen*, and the last about *thirteen hundred* feet below the surface. Through the northern, the largest and deepest one, in a line corresponding with the bed of the Jordan, is a ravine, which again seems to correspond with the Wady el Jeib, or ravine within a ravine, at the south end of the sea.

"Between the Jabok and this sea, we unexpectedly found a sudden break-down in the bed of the Jordan. If there be a similar break in the water-courses to the south of the sea, accompanied with like volcanic characters, there can scarce be a doubt that the whole Ghor has sunk from some extraordinary convul-

sion; preceded, most probably, by an eruption of fire, and a general conflagration of the bitumen which abounded in the plain. I shall ever regret that we were not authorized to explore the southern Ghor to the Red Sea.*

"But it is for the learned to comment on the facts we have laboriously collected. Upon ourselves, the result is a decided one. We entered upon this sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was skeptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaic account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken, we are unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the Scriptural account of the destruction of the cities of the plain. I record with diffidence the conclusions we have reached, simply as a protest against the shallow deductions of *would-be* unbelievers."—Pp. 379, 380.

The deep ravine lying in the bottom of the northern portion of the sea, seems to be the bed of the Jordan extended southward, and violently depressed some thirteen hundred feet. It has very precipitous banks, as the soundings show. Take the line sounded across the middle, from Ain Gidy to Wady Mojob. The first line, after leaving the western shore, gave thirty fathoms; the second, seventy-three; the third, one hundred and twenty-seven; the fourth, one hundred and forty-five; and two-thirds across the sea, one hundred and eighty-eight fathoms. The increase of depth on the eastern shore was still more striking. The first sounding off Wady Mojob was thirty-four fathoms; and, within one or two hundred yards, the second sounding was one hundred and forty-one, and the third one hundred and seventy-one. From this line of soundings the depth increases gradually northward, nearer the eastern than the western shore, until, at the distance of about eight miles, it reaches two hundred and eighteen fathoms. This is the deepest sounding noted on the chart, and is a little to the south of the mouth of the Kidron, and nearer to the eastern than the western shore. Here then, a little less than one-third of the length of the sea, or about ten miles below the mouth of the Jordan, the Expedition found the bottom of that deep caldron in which lies and simmers, over the deeper volcanic fires, the sea of God's indignation against Sodom and Gomorrah. Advancing northward towards the mouth of the Jordan, the depth gradually decreases to within two or three miles of the mouth, where the deepest sounding was one hundred and sixteen fathoms. From this point northward, the depth decreases gradually to one or two fathoms, owing to the mud brought down by the river. Throughout this northern portion, and indeed everywhere except in the southern bay,

* There is a similar break-down in the great valley which lies south of the Dead Sea. About ten miles from its southern shore a high range of perpendicular chalk cliffs extends across the Arabah from west to east, through which Wady el Jeib breaks down, and is the water-drain for the Arabah from far to the south, where it descends through the cliffs. Its sides are nearly perpendicular, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in height.—*Robinson's Res.*, vol. ii., pp. 495, 498.

the plummet occasionally brought up crystals of salt—occasionally blue and yellow mud.

Returning to the line sounded from Ain Gidy to Moheb, or the Arnon, and advancing southward towards the peninsula, the soundings gave less and less water, so that from one hundred and eighty-eight fathoms, in a distance of five miles, they found one hundred and twenty; and two miles farther, which brought them up with the northern end of the peninsula, they found fifty fathoms. Here, evidently, is the line that divides the two "submerged plains." Here the plummet came up out of the northern and deeper plain, and began to sound the southern or shallower one. From this point the depth decreases rapidly southward. Between the western shore and the peninsula it decreases, in a distance of six miles, from fifty to three fathoms; and from the southern point of the peninsula to the southern extremity of the sea, the depth nowhere (April 25th) exceeded two and a half fathoms; and at the extreme south, the water covering a large space was from one to one and a half feet deep, being nothing more than the seething mixture of slime, bitumen, marl, and bitter water, mentioned above. Beyond the water-line southward, they found the broad level shore to be composed of salt, marl, bitumen, and slime, into which they sank up to their knees, and which scorched them like "hot ashes."

It is generally thought by the learned and scientific that the Cities of the Plain occupied the southern portion of the sea; and we know that they occupied a valley watered and fertilized by the sweet floods of the Jordan. It would seem probable, therefore, that this river then flowed southward, through the valley of the Arabah, to the Red Sea. The catastrophe which overwhelmed these cities was evidently accompanied by violent volcanic action and conflagration, which have left their impress on every part of this gloomy and guilty region, as any geologist will easily see. The probability therefore is, that the whole area now occupied by the sea was sunk down, as we now find it, into a deep and hot chasm, into which the waters of the Jordan flow from the north, and the rain-floods of the Arabah and the adjacent countries flow from the south, through Wady el Jeib. Thus the Arabah has become arid for the want of the fertilizing waters of the Jordan, and the land of Job a desert.*

Having finished the exploration of the Dead Sea, Commander Lynch prepared, on the 30th of April, to visit Kerak, the "Kir Moab" (or capital of Moab) of Scripture. It is situated high up in the mountains, some ten miles distant from the south-east coast

* The waters of the sea pass off by rapid evaporation, caused by the intense heat of its peculiar climate.

of the sea. He had made arrangements for this visit by sending 'Akil across the Jordan, and down the country on the east side, to inform the Kerak people of his coming. 'Akil had to fight his way through one of the tribes, the Adwans; yet he with his escort, some twelve of them wounded, made his way to Kerak, and, true to his engagements, sent a messenger to meet the boats at the mouth of the Wady Beni Hamed, which enters the sea at the head of the bay which lies between the peninsula and the eastern mountains. Their voyage from Ain Gidy across to this bay was one of great suffering, from the intense heat of the sun, the sulphurous atmosphere, which cracked and parched their skin, and from the irresistible stupor which forced all to sleep, except the commanders of the boats, who steered them. Although the length of the sail was only eleven miles, yet, the narrative says,—

“The fierce angel of disease seemed hovering over them, (the men,) and I read the forerunner of his presence in their flushed and feverish sleep. Some, with their bodies bent and arms dangling over the abandoned oars, their hands excoriated with the acrid water, slept profoundly;—others, with heads thrown back, and lips cracked and sore, with a scarlet flush on either cheek, seemed overpowered by heat and weariness even in sleep; while some, upon whose faces shone the reflected light from the water, looked ghastly, and dozed with a nervous twitching of the limbs, and now and then starting from their sleep, drank deeply from a beaker and sank back again to lethargy.”—P. 388.

It was some distance from their landing-place to the mountains, and the country around, particularly to the south, was pretty well watered, and covered with groves of cane and tamarisks, and along the streams were luxuriant oleanders from fifteen to eighteen feet high, in full bloom. There also was the village of Mezra-ah, whose people cultivated millet, tobacco, and indigo. They were a savage race, more dark, hair more wiry, and their features and complexion more of the African type than the Arabs of the Ghor generally.

At the appointed day, true to his engagement, 'Akil had sent a trusty messenger to meet the boats. With him came the son of Abd' Allah, the Christian sheikh of Kerak, who, hearing that Christians were on the Dead Sea, and about to visit their town, came to welcome them. Yet it was thought best to send to the Moslem sheikh for horses and protection to go to the town. In due time these arrived under the charge of Mohammed, the young prince; and the party prepared to ascend the mountains to Kerak, some twelve miles distant in a straight line. As they had seen enough already to know that their safety depended upon their strength and arms, they took the precaution to prepare themselves thoroughly. The ascent was toilsome, and sometimes dangerous; and when they reached the town they found it strongly placed, and defended by a

wall, within which was a very strong fortress.* The houses are described as "stone huts, built without mortar, with flat roofs, surrounded by low walls." They are all one story, and about eight feet high; without windows or chimneys, and blackened inside by smoke. The population is thus described:—

"Kerak contains a population of about three hundred families, three-fourths Christian. By paying an annual tribute, and submitting to occasional exactions, the latter live amicably with the powerful tribe of Kerakiyeh, whose encampment is a short distance without the walls. The latter are so averse to houses, that some, then on a visit to the town, had pitched their tents in the yards of vacant dwellings.

"The Muslim inhabitants are wild-looking savages, but the Christians have a milder expression. The males mostly wear sheepskin coats; the women, dark-coloured gowns; the Christian females did not conceal their faces, which were tattooed like the South-Sea islanders. The priest, in his black turban and subdued countenance, acted as our cicerone. He took us to his little church, a low, dark, vaulted room, containing a picture of St. George fighting the Dragon, two half columns of red granite from the ruins of the castle, and a well of cool water in the centre."—P. 357.

"In the course of a long conversation to-night, Abd' Allah gave us a history of the condition and prospects of the Christians of Kerak. He said that there were from nine hundred to a thousand Christians here, comprising three-fourths of the population. They could muster a little over two hundred fighting men; but are kept in subjection by the Muslim Arabs, living mostly in tents without the town. He stated that they are, in every manner, imposed upon. If a Muslim comes to the town, instead of going to the house of another Muslim, he quarters himself upon a Christian, and appropriates the best of everything: that Christian families have been two days without food—all that they had being consumed by their self-invited guests. If a Muslim sheikh buys a horse for so many sheep, he makes the Christians contribute until the number be made up. Their property, he said, is seized at will, without there being any one to whom to appeal; and remonstrance, on their part, only makes it worse.

"Already a great many have been driven away; poverty alone keeping the remainder. They have commenced building a church, in the hope of keeping all together, and as a safe place of refuge for their wives and children, in times of trouble; but the locusts and the sirocco have for the last seven years blasted the fields, and nearly all sowed by them has been swept by the Muslims. They gave me the following appeal to the Christians in our more happy land, which I promised to make known. The following is a literal translation:—

"By God's favour!

"May it, God willing! reach America, and be presented to our Christian brothers,—whose happiness may the Almighty God preserve! Amen!

"8642.

BEDUAH.

"We are, in Kerak, a few very poor Christians, and are building a church.

"We beg your excellency to help us in this undertaking, for we are very weak.

"The land has been unproductive, and visited by the locusts, for the last seven years.

* These were all the works of the Crusaders.

"The church is delayed in not being accomplished, for want of funds, for we are a few Christians, surrounded by Muslims.

"This being all that is necessary to write to you, Christian brothers of America, we need say no more.

"The trustees in your bounty,

"ABD' ALLAH EN NAHAS, Sheikh,

"YAKOB EN NAHAS, Sheikh's brother.—Page 363.

"Kerak, Jâmad Awâh, 1264."

Can nothing be done for these Christians? The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions could receive and transmit contributions to assist these poor oppressed disciples of Jesus. Will not the American Board make such a proposition? We are satisfied it would be responded to.

Captain Lynch found Muhamed, the Muslim Sheikh of Kerak, a surly, savage fellow, determined, by force if necessary, to exact from the Americans a large present, which they determined not to give. So they managed to take the sheikh prisoner, and carry him down to the boats; and when they pushed off they left him standing on the shore, very submissive, indeed, amid his astonished people, and willing to receive humbly the smallest bucksheesh.

ART. VIII.—DR. DIXON ON AMERICA.

Personal Narrative of a Tour through a Part of the United States and Canada; with Notices of the History and Institutions of Methodism in America
By JAMES DIXON, D. D. 12mo., pp. 431. New-York: Lane & Scott. 1849.

IN our July number we briefly characterized Dr. Dixon's new work on America, founding our remarks on the English copy. The American edition has now appeared from the press of the Conference. It is very neatly printed, and bound in 12mo., and is accompanied by a good mezzotint likeness of the author.

The *first part* of the work, containing the "Personal Narrative," is the only portion of the book in which Dr. Dixon can be compared with other English travellers who have written upon this country, and he shows to eminent advantage in the comparison. No one of them, except Sir Thomas Lyell, approaches him in fairness of mind, in aptness of apprehension, in correctness of observation, or even in ability to see and describe what he sees. Over most of them he has this great advantage—that the very nature of his mission gave him opportunities of seeing American society in many phases which ordinary travellers never get a glimpse of; opportunities to note something more, and more important, than the size of the forks or the colour of the finger-glasses at table, or the like petty minutæ, which go to fill up the pages of

tourists whose range of observation is confined to the dining-rooms of taverns or the saloons of steamboats. He sees in the American people an earnest, active, religious race, friends of education, of temperance, and of public virtue; enjoying a degree of social prosperity such as the world never saw, and deserving to enjoy it, because they acknowledge God as its great giver. He sees that the occasional irregularities, follies, and even crimes, of which so much is made by the enemies of republican institutions on the other side of the water, are committed, in most cases, by emigrants from that very side of the water, and *not* by genuine, home-born Americans. He does not look for ancient cathedrals in the backwoods, nor even for palaces and smooth-cropped lawns on the Alleghany Mountains. He is content to behold the signs of freedom, growth, and progress everywhere; and does not repine because the American people, in the fresh youth of this growth and progress, are self-relying and independent, even in their individual life. Nay, the outward signs of this "living power" delight him:—

"There is an air of perfect independence and freedom, consciousness of strength and power, repose in the midst of activity, calmness and dignity with profound emotions. An American, more than any character it was ever my happiness to study, looks like a man who is sensible that he carries his own destinies about him; that he is complete in himself; that he is a self-acting, self-moving intelligence; that he has to shape his own course, and become the architect of his own fortune. He does not seem to be looking without to catch the chances of some stray events by which to fashion his life: his thoughts are steadily fixed upon strengthening his own resources, and he is always laying in a stock for the voyage he is upon. The effect of this is to produce (I hardly know what to call it) a rotundity, a fulness, a completeness of manhood, not seen in other societies; and to those who do not comprehend him, or who have only been accustomed to the fawning flatteries—and as false as they are fawning—of other nations, all this is extremely offensive.

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"Instead of moving and acting like the members of the body at the bidding of some other head or will than his own; instead of being dragged along, like the helpless travellers of a railroad train, by forces independent of himself, the American chooses to consult his own counsels, to examine his own course, and to move the machine intrusted to him by his Creator by his own free volitions. All this may either be good or bad. In case the forces which are thus put in motion are fitted to move aright, it is easy to see that the results must be vastly important. Man, free, unfettered, acting on his own convictions, supposing them to be wise and good, must possess a power which men in chains, or working in gangs like slaves in a plantation, cannot enjoy. This individualism is, in point of fact, the leading feature of American character. The true son of the soil never parts with it. The combinations, confederations, unions, and committees into which politics or commercial enterprises drive him, never despoil him of his identity."—Pp. 182-184.

But we must let him tell what he *did* see on the Alleghanies:—

"Our long train of 'stages,' with their brilliant lamps, reflected by the foliage, presented a singular appearance, and not devoid of interest and beauty. It became very cold as we ascended the mountain, and we were glad to halt for supper. This was served, considering the character of the place, in very good style; and, no doubt, we did it justice. After a good warming, we again renewed our journey. The road is designated 'national,' being prepared at the public expense; but unpleasantly rough. The shaking and jolting, the up-and-down kind of exercise we had to endure, made sleep in my case quite out of the question. Hearing a remarkable noise as we proceeded, I inquired of my companions what it meant; and was informed that it arose from the merry-making of frogs. The sound was not a *croak*, but a *chirp*, very much like that of crickets by our fire-sides, only much louder. For many miles the mountain was perfectly vocal with the music of these happy creatures.

How good is God! All things serve him in their season. This concert of frogs broke the tedium of the journey and the gloom of night; and it became my business to listen to this singular melody for several hours.

"All my companions, being accustomed to this kind of travelling, slept soundly; but I 'watched for the morning' with great desire. At length it came. We had reached the summit of the mountain, and were now beginning to descend. The sun rose; and it was never my fortune to behold such a sunrise. As he ascended the skies, they appeared tinged by the most beautiful and variegated colours imaginable. They were clothed in the most gorgeous dress; the deep blue being relieved and diversified by banks of clouds, their edges being tinged with all the colours of the rainbow. But on looking out on my left hand, I saw something which I took to be a prodigious lake; and, being surprised at so singular a phenomenon appearing on the top of a mountain, roused one of my fellow-travellers, and asked, 'What lake is that on the left?' He rubbed his eyes, and grumbled out, 'I reckon there is no lake here.' He closed them again, and I could obtain no information. I continued to gaze; and felt certain that the object seen was the waters of a lake or sea, stretching to an indefinite extent, and losing itself in the distance. After ruminating in this uncertainty for some considerable time, it occurred to me that possibly it might be the *MIRAGE*, so often referred to by eastern travellers. So it turned out. We were at a great distance from either lake or sea; but the sun had given the rising mist this peculiar appearance. No wonder that the pilgrims of the desert, in imagination, quenched their burning thirst, and plunged their weary limbs, in one of these illusive seas. Attracted by the promise of water, they rushed towards a blessing which retired as they approached, and left them still a prey to thirst and misery. Had it been my lot to command a steamer, or vessel of any kind, I should not have doubted for a moment that the sea I fancied I saw, would furnish depth and space enough for her navigation.

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"But a more gorgeous deception awaited us. Turning my eyes to the other side of the mountain, I beheld another most magnificent spectacle. This arose from the agency of the same causes; the mist lying on the side of the mountain, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon it. But in this instance his rays were not absorbed, but reflected, and the appearance was not that of water, but of fire. How shall a description of this wonderful scene be attempted? We have no analogies. It was unlike anything ever beheld by me. Nothing either in the heavens or on the earth can furnish any terms of comparison or modes of illustration. The point of observation in surveying the beauties of the heavens is from below. We see all their glories over our heads. But in this case we were elevated above the phenomenon; we did not look up, but down; the magnificent spectacle lay at our feet,—like the *mirage* on the other side the mountain,—stretching to an indefinite distance. Again, this spectacle had not the appearance of mountains of clouds, heaped one upon another, variegated by tints and hues of many colours, their edges dipped in gold, and reflecting every possible form of beauty; it was uniform, presenting the same aspect and colour; the intensity of its brightness seemed not to admit of variation, the one element swallowed up all inferior forms, and absorbed them in its own indivisible purity and lustre. The arch of heaven, the rainbow, the rising and setting sun, the brilliant noonday,—none of these can give a notion of this splendid illusion. Its position was longitudinal; its surface, its bosom, like that of the ocean, seen from a lofty elevation, presented itself to view as at a great distance below;—reflecting the sun's beams back again to their fountain, and giving their dazzling brightness as if in emulation of the parent orb. To what shall we compare it? *It looked like a sea of glory!* I gazed and gazed on this lovely object, till dragged by the rumbling motion of our vehicle beyond the sight of the deceptive vision. We were soon lowered to the common level; and, leaving these regions of splendour and magic grandeur, were called to move along the common road, in the midst of clouds and shadows."

—Pp. 79–82.

Our readers will be glad to see the following in regard to Bishop Soule. It puts him before us in a new light, so far as his anti-slavery feelings and aims are concerned:—

"In a few days after my arrival, Bishop Soule made his appearance, and took up

his abode, at our hotel. This to me was a most pleasant incident. We had much intercourse and conversation. He had not lost his English impressions. His sojourn in our country, his reception and treatment by the conference and people, had left a very grateful recollection on his mind. He entered fully into the subject of his connexion with the South; saying, he supposed we should be surprised at the event. He avowed that he acted from the dictates of his conscience, believing that he should be best enabled, in the section of the Church he had chosen, to advance the interests of his Master's kingdom. Everybody who knows Bishop Soule must receive this testimony. He is incapable of equivocation, or of anything dishonourable. He avowed that his convictions of the evils of slavery had undergone no change; it was as much the object of his abhorrence as ever. His explanations of his conduct amounted to this:—that, in his opinion, the only possible way of ever reaching a measure of emancipation lay in bringing the population of the South, masters and slaves, under the influence of the Gospel; and that the only means of accomplishing this was, not in agitating the question, but in quietly preaching the truth to both, leaving it in the providence of God to work its own results: moreover, that for ministers to agitate the question of emancipation, would infallibly cause the planters of the South to shut the door against all attempts at evangelization, and have the effect of leaving masters and servants in their sins."—Pp. 89, 90.

Dr. Dixon mentions the universal testimony of English travellers to a *difference* felt on crossing the boundary line between the United States and Canada, remarking that this change seemed always to be represented in favour of Canada. It does not seem so to have struck him:—

"Let us look at the case. On the American side, the people are all life, elasticity, buoyancy, activity; on the Canadian side we have a people who appear subdued, tame, spiritless, as if living much more under the influence of fear than hope. Again: on the American territory we behold men moving as if they had the idea that their calling was to act, to choose, to govern—at any rate to govern themselves; on the Canada soil we see a race, perhaps more polite than the other, but who seem to live under the impression that their vocation is to receive orders, and obey. Then, on the American side, you are placed in the midst of incessant bustle, agitation; the hotels are filled, coaches are in constant movement, railroad trains passing and re-passing with their passengers, while men of business are seen pushing their concerns with impassioned ardour. On the Canada shore we have comparatively still life; delicate, genteel, formal. Moreover, on the American territory, all along the shores of the lakes, the country is being cleared, houses and villages built, works put up, incipient ports opened, and trade begun. On the Canada shore, unbroken forest appears for miles, while the small openings which have been made present themselves to view in a very infantine and feeble state of progress.

"All this was exhibited at once at our hotel itself. We had been put down in the town of Niagara on the American side, in the midst of an active population, and hastened at once to one of several large hotels. Besides being splendidly fitted up, it was full of people. In my ignorance I had imagined that we were to take up our residence at this place, and hastened to engage a room: in this attempt I found it difficult to obtain accommodation at all, and failed altogether in securing a chamber which commanded a view of the Falls. We crossed over to the Canadian village, and found an equally commodious inn; but the contrast was most striking. The saloon to which we were directed was equal to one of the American dining-rooms, capable of accommodating from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons. What was the company? When dinner was announced, about ten persons sat at one end of a prodigious table, receiving the good things of Providence in perfect silence, except as broken by some common-place phrases of politeness."—Pp. 122, 123.

Our author seems to be as well convinced that Canada will one day be annexed as any "manifest destiny" American:—

"Canada and the United States are now placed, as nearly as possible, on an equal footing with regard to commercial transactions with this country; the one being a colony of the British empire, and the other the greatest rival this nation has to con-

tend with in the world. How long this state of things can last, is for statesmen to consider. Canada now only belongs to Great Britain by a figment, a tradition, a loyalty, a recollection of heroic deeds; and not by any material interest or benefit. Nay, in the present state of things, cast off by the mother country, and left to their own resources, with the United States just by their side, possessing vast political power and influence; a growing credit, and monetary resources; a prodigious mercantile and commercial navy; an active, industrious, and virtuous people; a government capable, in all respects, and equally disposed, to foster, protect, and strengthen all its possessions;—we say, with all these things staring them in the face, the policy of this country has made it the plain, palpable interest of the Canadians to seek for annexation. This is as clear as any problem in Euclid. How long the tradition and the loyalty will weigh against the interests now put in the balance against them, nobody need be at a loss to determine. Perhaps the non-election of General Cass will settle the question for the next four years; but, had that gentleman obtained the presidency of the States,—why, the world would have presented itself in different phases at the end of the above period.”—Pp. 157, 158.

But we are warned by our narrow limits to hasten on. Part II., containing “Historical Notices of Methodism in America,” gives a very clear account of the origin and progress of our Church, with many wise and philosophical observations upon the means by which that progress has been secured. Our readers will err greatly if they suppose that this and the remaining sections of the work are made up wholly of extracts and statistics. They abound in lessons of wisdom for the Methodist Church on both sides of the water—lessons which, we trust, will be duly heeded on both sides. His view of the moral and political results of the American Revolution (pp. 238–240) is one of the finest and boldest, as well as wisest, passages in the book. We should gladly quote it did our space allow, as we should also his sketch of the character of Bishop Asbury, which, though brief, is eminently apt, just, and comprehensive.

Part III. treats of the Institutions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, showing, first of all, that it differs from the Wesleyan body in England in having a settled doctrinal basis fixed in the Articles of Religion, and then setting forth its federal character as well as its unity. Its federal character Dr. Dixon finds “developed in the establishment of the Annual Conferences—their rights and immunities—connecting with the General Conference. Its unity is a unity of several parts, possessing almost independent rights.” The first element of unity he finds in the doctrinal basis of the Church; the second, in its central power of legislation—the Conference; the third, in its Episcopacy. After a summary view of the subdivisions in the Church organization, he proceeds, in Chapter VIII., to give his impressions of the General Conference, as derived from his attendance on its sessions at Pittsburgh, in May, 1848. The account is certainly, to us, a very gratifying one; the more so, as there is so broad a contrast between the mode of transacting business in our body and that of the British Conference. We cannot help fancying that certain portions of this chapter are intended as lessons to the British Conference; and, in good truth, we must confess that we think them needed, although we would speak with care and caution on points so delicate and so easily misunderstood. The following passages are significant:—

“No man is bound to the opinions or the interests of another; and, right or wrong in his judgment, certainly every one acts for himself, and gives a sincere and consci-

entious vote. There is no embarrassment in consequence of this state of things. No preacher ever thinks of impugning another's character as something analogous to *radical*, because he gives his suffrages in a particular way. He speaks, votes, *stands up*, in perfect fearlessness as to the consequences of the side he takes. There is no low Methodism and high Methodism, no *ins* and *outs*, no *government* and its partisans to keep in office, or to remove. Methodism is one; and every person seems intent on giving it his best support.

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"The rules of debate and good order are admirably preserved. There was not, in my presence, an instance of the least confusion. No man ever interrupted another, except very occasionally, on a point of order, and the interposing party invariably did it in the most courteous manner; the appeal was always to the chair, no third party ever interfering; and, when the chair had decided, no one ever disputing the award. In listening to these ministers of religion for a fortnight, truth obliges me to say, that I never heard an angry tone, an uncourteous word, the employment of a single sarcasm, the use of any kind of personality, any, the least attempt, to throw odium upon an opponent, or refer to the opinions of others otherwise than with the most perfect respect. If good breeding constitutes a Christian gentleman, then most certainly this assembly of ministers may be pronounced most emphatically as Christian gentlemen."—Pp. 297-299.

Dr. Dixon's account of the debate on the boundary question, and of its issue, is quite inaccurate; but it is to be remembered that the subject was almost, if not quite new to him at the time, and his opportunity of gathering information at Pittsburgh was, as we learn from the book itself, very limited. He left the Conference, it will be remembered, on the 17th of May, *before* the principal argument on that question was held, so that he never heard the views of the strong men of the body at all! Since that time his reading on the subject seems to have been confined, strangely enough, to the documents issued by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South—sources not the most likely, certainly, to correct any misapprehensions which he might have imbibed, in conversation or otherwise, at Pittsburgh. But we shall have a word more to say on this matter at the end of our article, and therefore drop it for the present.

In Part IV., Dr. Dixon gives us what, on the whole, we must call an admirable summary of the Territorial Progress of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The investigation, he remarks, has cost him great labour; and we may well believe him, for no attempt of the sort has been made by an American hand, to our knowledge. A geographical division—the best possible for the purpose—is adopted, and the state of Methodism in America is examined under the four heads of the Conferences on the Atlantic sea-board, those on the line of the Hudson and the Lakes, those on the Ohio, and those on the Mississippi. This division of the work, like Part III., abounds in sagacious remark, as well as in statements of fact. The statements, it is true, are sometimes erroneous; but it is only marvellous that they are not more so. It would be invidious, and it is unnecessary, for us to note such occasional mistakes. One passage, however,—an inference, or sort of prediction, rather than a statement,—deserves a moment's remark:—

"Dr. Lee, the nephew of Jesse Lee, is, as we see, Editor of the Richmond Christian Advocate. These Christian Advocates, in these times, are fearful things. One cannot help deploring, that talents competent to the highest studies and investigations of theological and sacred truth, should be devoted to partisan warfare. This is unhappily the case now. This fine young man, Dr. Lee, and another at New-

York, not as young, but of equally excellent spirit, Dr. George Peck, must now be pitted against each other in deadly warfare, on the points at issue between the North and the South. It makes one's heart bleed to think of men like these spending their time and their talents in service so wretched."—P. 333.

If Dr. Dixon had enjoyed the opportunity of reading the *Christian Advocate and Journal* during the period that intervened between his visit to Pittsburgh and the publication of his book, he would have struck out this passage. The "pitting" of Dr. Lee against Dr. Peck existed only in his own imagination;—indeed, there has been almost *no* "controversy" between the two editors from the date of the Pittsburgh Conference to this present writing; and that because Dr. Peck has sedulously avoided it.

But we must bring our remarks to a close with a word or two in regard to the omission of Part V. of the original work in the American edition. We have been amused by the opposing objurgations that have been heaped upon us for this omission. In some northern quarters it has been insinuated that it was a "base bowing down to the dark spirit of slavery," in the slang which unfortunately passes for strong language with some people. Our southern friends, on the contrary, are sure that Dr. Dixon vindicates their separate organization, and taunt us with cowardice on that head. To gratify both parties, and to show our *courage* in the cheap way so much in vogue among demagogues in Church and State, we put upon record here the strongest passage against slavery, and the strongest in favour of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, or rather, against the action of the General Conference of 1848, which we can find in the omitted chapters:—

"Slavery in itself is one thing, and the relations of men to it another. As to slavery, in its own nature, nothing can be said, but that it is the grossest evil existing under the sun. It is, in truth, every possible personal wrong in one. Rob a man of his watch, his clothes, his purse, his house, his lands,—is not this a moral evil, a sin? If not, what of the laws of civilized communities, jails, and the gallows? But is it not a greater crime to rob man of himself, than to strip him of his coat, to pull down his house, and to drive him from his home? The degrees of evil in each case can bear no comparison. Slavery is robbery in its highest possible enormity. But it is a lingering injury. It is inflicted for life,—a life of conscious wrong; for to imagine that these wretches are not sensible of their condition, is to add calumny to injury. It is robbery, torture, degradation, misery, mental and physical, dealt out by the moment, the live-long day, the whole period of existence. It is as if, by some infernal contrivance, existence were sustained—as with the damned—while the operations of the whip, the iron, the fangs of slavery, were constantly at work upon their tortured and lacerated limbs. This is not all. The wretched slave is obliged to bequeath his inheritance to his offspring. That which was pronounced a blessing, the ties of family, the relations of wedded life, the parental state, is by this system perverted into an unmitigated curse. All the political, all the social, all the municipal laws of civilized society are perverted. That cruel code which makes a man a thing, identifies him with the beast, classes him with farm-stock, places him among lumber, reduces him to the condition of household furniture, treats him as the canes, the tobacco, the cotton, the indigo, which his hands cultivate; then buys and sells him in the market like any other stock, or goods; is—but we are afraid to call it by its true name.

"To say that villany like this can in any way be identical with Christianity, is to degrade our holy religion to a co-partnership, or a connivance, with man's greatest, most concentrated, and unmitigated crimes against his fellow. There is not a truth, a doctrine, a principle, a precept, of the Gospel, which, if fairly carried out, would not annihilate slavery. The very existence of the Church is fundamentally opposed to the spirit and injustice of this evil. How can a slaveholder make his servants his property, and then meet them in the Church, at the Lord's table, as his brethren? It

would be a curious thing to see one of these gentlemen receiving the Lord's supper, the emblem of Christian brotherhood, with one of his slaves on the Sabbath, and then on Monday morning selling him as a log of wood."

A very vigorous and spicy passage. That which follows is not much less so:—

"Up to the session of 1844, the evident predominant doctrine and practice of the Methodist Episcopal Church went to consider the General Conference as possessing two functions only, namely, the legislative and judicial. This is seen in its Discipline, its constitution, its relations to the Annual Conferences, its distribution of administrative power among the bishops, presiding elders, elders, and Quarterly Meeting Conferences; and, in fine, by its entire action. We cannot but look upon this as a very wise and judicious arrangement; as embodying the only true principle of liberty, and as securing the equable administration of discipline and order.

"Did not the proceedings of 1844 trench on these constitutional, these fundamental principles? Doctrines were broached regarding the power of the General Conference which, in effect, and if acted upon, would raise it above law; put it in a position beyond the pale of the constitution; give it the power of parliamentary omnipotence; and place the destinies of all imaginable interests within its grasp. The best analogy which I can think of, is the claim of 'parliamentary privilege' in this country; that monstrous usurpation of power, by which one of the Houses of Parliament claims for itself the right, on the ground of its privileges, of setting aside the other branch of the legislature, the courts of law, the law itself, and, by its own majority, to deal summarily with any of Her Majesty's subjects offending against this power. Something like this was certainly claimed for the Conference at the above period. Such power can neither be possessed nor exercised safely. It must degenerate into a despotism. No human virtue can prevent this. And of all the despotisms in the universe, the undivided, unchecked power of one chamber, one aggregate body, is the most certain, the most fearful, the most crushing. The Annual Conferences, and the other divisions of the Church into separate administrative bodies, held this power in check, in the General Conference, up to the time in question. The sooner the North returns to the old soundings of the Church the better. A unit is a fearful power; bad enough in one tyrant, but when existing in a conclave, a council, a Conference, it is next to infinite; nobody can resist, nobody can escape. The only happiness left in such cases is, that the despotism is certain to break down by its own weight.

"In dealing with the case of Bishop Andrew, these notions and claims were brought into practical operation. The bishop was not put upon his trial according to the law of the case; the matter did not come up for adjudication from a lower court, according to the practice in appeal cases; he was not accused, formally and judicially, of having broken any law,—and it is doubtful whether, in point of fact, he had done so;—in a word, all the usual forms of dealing with analogical cases—for charges against a bishop had never occurred before—were all broken through, and the General Conference is seen in the—in America—novel position of dealing out justice by a vote of its majority, *on motion*, without any of the forms of trial. A dangerous precedent this. It evidently involves the rights of more parties than bishops. Let the General Conference claim to be the one, indivisible, omnipotent administrative body in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and exercise this function, and then that which, next to her religion and devotedness to evangelic work, we have most admired,—namely, her episcopal superintendence, and division of power,—must, as we fear, suffer irretrievable damage."

We allow this passage to go to our readers without comment, except the remark that there is not a position in it, we believe, that has not been fully met by the various publications that have appeared on the side of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country. Our own reason for not publishing Part V. may be given in few words. It contains one hundred and six pages, of which *eighty-five* consist of extracts from Dr. Bangs' "History of Methodism," from the "Journals of the General Conference," and from the "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church South." It would have been

simply absurd for us to encumber the American edition of the work with matter already accessible to them at little or no expense,—matter, too, which has become a thrice-told tale in the course of the controversies, newspaper and other, which have arisen out of the division of the Church. We must, however, say a word or two for the special behoof of Dr. Dixon and our friends in England. He has published, almost in extenso, the most important documents issued on the side of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in this controversy, but has not given *one line* from those put forth by the friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Indeed, so far as we can judge from his own statements, he has not even read these documents at all; and of the reply to the Protest, he expressly says that “he has not seen it.” Our British brethren will understand us when we say that it is as if an American traveller, in writing a history of the recent expulsions from the Wesleyan Conference, should take his cue and make his quotations *entirely* from the “Fly-sheets” and the “Wesleyan Times.” We emphasize “entirely,” because it would be perfectly right in such a traveller, nay, we think it would be his bounden duty, to read the “Wesleyan Times” as well as the “Watchman,” in order to gather fair and just views of the case in question; and so it would, in our opinion, have been entirely proper for Dr. Dixon to read everything that our southern friends have had to say on their side of the Church controversy. But this is a very different thing from a course of reading, thinking, and quoting, so entirely one-sided as Dr. Dixon’s has been in the present instance.

Yet in all this we do not wish to be understood as finding fault with Dr. Dixon. He has given us a noble, large-minded, warm-hearted testimony, and one which will do more to remove false impressions, and to inspire kind and fraternal feelings toward us among our British brethren, than any book that has yet been written. Already its effects are visible in such passages as the following from the *London Watchman*, with which we must close this inadequate notice:—

“In sober historical fact, American Methodism is the foremost ecclesiastical prodigy since the day of miracles closed. Never has such a number of human beings been brought in a like time to attach themselves, by their sole free choice, to a particular form of Christianity, without any one impulsion from State will, or public authority. It stands at this day the largest Church of voluntary members in all the Protestant world. Where national law has given to a particular form of religion all the children of a nation, or the children of all parents who led not their offspring to a special choice, there we find more numerous enrolments than the Methodist Episcopal Church has to exhibit; but, in the entire round of what begin to be called ‘Free Churches,’—Churches where free choice alone has led to adherence,—we find no body equalling in numbers that which, less than a century ago, took its rise from the obscure labours of an emigrant female, and an emigrant Local Preacher.

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“The whole effect of that most interesting portion of this noble book, is to leave upon the mind a happy and elevated sense of the power of Christianity, which has in so short a time, and among a people so active, carried vital piety over such a prodigious territory, and fortified it with such a glorious host of disciples, and such an array of subsidiary institutions. On the other hand, it will inevitably lead English Methodists to search why it is that we, acting on a denser population, have not reached to more than one-third the number of our American brethren. Here is ground for speculation to those who love to speculate, and ground of incitement to those who think it better to labour.”

ART. IX.—THE NEW HYMN-BOOK.

Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Revised Edition. New York: Lane & Scott, 200 Mulberry-street. 1849.

WE can now honestly and joyfully congratulate the Methodist Episcopal Church on the possession of the best collection of Hymns, for Public, Social, and Private Worship, in existence. There may be others larger, though of this we doubt; others which are better specimens of *poetry*, (and of this we are by no means certain;) but as a collection of Hymns to be sung in the congregation, in point of spirituality, purity, good taste, Scriptural character, brevity, and earnest devotion, this book is, we sincerely believe, unsurpassed. That it will meet at once with universal welcome, is not to be expected. Many will doubtless be distressed at the loss of favourite hymns, associated in their minds with a thousand blessed recollections; many will be surprised to find hymns sacred to them in one form reproduced in another; many will regret the difference of arrangement, even though the advantage be as great in favour of the book as between a dictionary of words thrown together helter-skelter and one alphabetically arranged. But when these first impressions have subsided, and the unequalled merits of the new book, in point of breadth of scope, skillfulness of arrangement, adaptation to popular use, and thorough Wesleyan as well as Scriptural character, come to be fully known, all objections will be done away, and the originators of the new Hymn-book, with all concerned in its preparation, will be blessed as benefactors to the Church in supplying one of her highest wants, and aiding in one of the highest of her acts of worship.

The deficiencies of our Hymn-book have been felt for many years, and many schemes for its improvement have been set afloat in private circles; but the first *public* proposition, so far as we know, for a complete revision of the book, was put forth in an able article, written by Dr. Floy, on the "*Methodist Hymn-Book*," in the number of this Journal for April, 1844. To that article we refer for an exposition of the necessary elements of a good Hymn, and for the essential requisites of a good Hymn-book. It is a most searching, just, and appreciative article;—such, indeed, as no man could have written who was not possessed at once of a cultivated taste and a thorough knowledge of the subject. It elicited a great deal of discussion, in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* and in the *Zion's Herald*, from various writers; in which discussion it was made apparent that many minds in different quarters had been simultaneously at work upon the subject. No one, however, showed a more complete knowledge of Wesleyan Hymns, and indeed of the whole subject, than David Creamer, Esq., of Baltimore, whose valuable volume on Hymnology was the ripe fruit of long years of labour and study. In the mean time, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, prepared and published its new Hymn-Book, in which many of the suggestions made in Dr. Floy's article and in the newspaper criticisms were carried into effect. By the time of the session of the General Conference of 1848, at Pittsburgh, the public mind was ready for action on the subject; and that body, accordingly, at an early period of its session, took it up for consideration. We quote from the Journal:—

"May 2, on motion of J. Floy, it was resolved that a committee of seven be appointed, to take into consideration the revisal of the Hymn-Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and report whether they deem any improvement necessary."—P. 12.

On the next day the Committee was announced to consist of C. Elliott, M. Simpson, W. Hosmer, J. Floy, David Patten, G. F. Brown, and Nelson Rounds. On the 6th of May this Committee presented a report, which, after considerable debate, was slightly amended, and then adopted by a large majority of votes, as follows:—

"The Committee to whom was referred the subject of revising the Hymn-Book, respectfully report that in their opinion such revision ought to be made; and from the best information before them, they believe it to be the general impression among our people that this General Conference will provide for such revision. The Book Committee at New-York, consisting of representatives from the New-York, the Philadelphia, and the New-Jersey Conferences, associated with our official Editors, unite in requesting such revision; and we have before us a resolution, adopted with great unanimity by the Genesee Conference, requesting this Conference to take immediate measures for this object. At the same time, your committee are deeply impressed with the absolute necessity of intrusting such revision to those who will make it with good taste and sound judgment. We present, therefore, for the consideration of this body, the following resolutions:—

"1. Resolved, That this Conference appoint a committee of seven, to whom shall be intrusted the duty of preparing a revised edition of our standard Hymn-Book.

"2. Resolved, That when said committee shall have finished their labours, the result shall be submitted to the Editors and Book Committee, at New-York, and the Bishops; and when approved by them, the new Hymn-Book shall be published at our Book Concerns, simultaneously, at New-York and Cincinnati.

"3. Resolved, That all expenses necessarily incurred by the Committee in making this revision be defrayed by the Book Agents."—P. 25.

And on the 23d of May the laborious task of revising the Hymn-book was laid upon seven brethren, selected from different portions of our work, with special reference to their fitness for the duty, consisting of five preachers and two laymen, namely:—David Dailey, Philadelphia Conference; J. B. Alverson, Genesee Conference; James Floy, New-York Conference; David Patten, jr., Providence Conference; F. Merrick, Ohio Conference; Robert A. West, of Brooklyn, and David Creamer, of Baltimore.

The Committee commenced their labours on the 8th of August, 1848, and have only completed them, by the passage of the final proof-sheets through the press, within the last few weeks. Repeated meetings of the full committee were held, at which every hymn, and indeed every stanza in the book, came under separate and careful examination. No men ever worked harder in the time than did these unpaid labourers for the Church of Christ. Besides the critical investigation of separate hymns, there were new hymns to be added, the whole were to be arranged on a just system under proper heads, separate titles were to be furnished for each, the authors' names to be affixed, where they could be traced by any exercise of ingenuity and industry, and indexes to be made to the entire work. Any one conversant with literary labour will see that a vast task was here laid out, and that none but men familiar with the subject from long investigation could execute it within a reasonable time. As the members of the committee lived at remote distances from each other, the Rev. James Floy, D. D., and R. A. West, Esq., were appointed a sub-commit-

tee, to digest the labours of the whole committee, to suggest new hymns, and to prepare the work for the press. It is no disparagement to the other able and industrious members of the committee to say, that from the very necessity of the case, the chief burden of toil fell upon these two brethren, and that to them the Church is greatly indebted for the perfection of the new Hymn-book. We cannot set forth the extent and the result of their labours better than by stating, briefly, the characteristic points of excellence in our new Collection.

1. The first point to which we would call attention is the *number* of the hymns. In the old book, including the Supplement, there were six hundred and ninety-seven hymns; in the new, there are *eleven hundred and forty-eight*, besides the seventy-nine Sunday-School Hymns in the Supplement. It was long ago remarked by an eminent divine, that "too great a variety of evangelical hymns for public worship is a thing scarcely conceivable." In the new book this variety is secured, not so much by an enlargement of the bulk of the work—a result sedulously guarded against by the Committee—as by a judicious retrenchment of superfluous verses, by the omission of many hymns of inferior value, (especially those from un-Wesleyan sources,) and by the division of those of undue length into two hymns, or even, in extraordinary cases, into three. This was a most delicate, as well as most laborious, task; but, although we have followed the Committee with a close scrutiny, and, we must confess, with not a little jealous fear lest they should go too far, we must say, fully and freely, that we are not more surprised than delighted with the singular success of their labours. One feature deserves special remark. The old Hymn-book was overloaded, to an extent which those who have not examined the matter will hardly credit, with hymns in *particular metres*. More than *one-eighth* of the book was in *six lines eights*, and nearly *one-sixth* was in the different varieties of *sevens*;—indeed, of the former class there were more than of either Common, Long, or Short-metre Hymns. Now, as nine-tenths of the singing in our churches is done in these last metres, a great part of the book was almost absolutely useless for public worship; yet many of these hymns were in an exalted strain of poetry, and almost every phase of religious experience is illustrated in them, taken as a whole. The Committee have succeeded in preserving many of the best of these, and yet obviating the difficulty of metre, by changing the most difficult into Long, Short, and Common Metres. This delicate work was executed, we deem it right to say, entirely by Dr. Floy, and how well it was done can be seen by a few examples:—e. g., Hymn 210 of the old book (7s and 6s) changed to Short Metre in Hymn 90 of the new; Hymn 208 of old book similarly changed in 97 of the new:—a happier alteration still, in the alteration of Hymn 24 from *sevens and sixes* to Common Metre in Hymn 414 of the new book. Hymn 449, also, affords a good specimen of *six lines eights* altered to Long Metre. These instances might be multiplied, but space is not afforded to us.

2. The *arrangement* of the hymns was one of the most difficult tasks devolved upon the sub-committee. The new table of Contents embodies a clear, progressive, and scientific outline of Christian Theology in its relations to church worship:—

INTRODUCTORY TO WORSHIP	
THE DIVINE PERFECTIONS.	
JESUS CHRIST.	{ Incarnation and Birth Sufferings and Death Resurrection and Ascension Priesthood and Intercession
THE HOLY SPIRIT	
INSTITUTIONS OF THE GOSPEL.	{ The Ministry The Church The Sabbath Baptism The Lord's Supper
PROVISIONS AND PROMISES OF THE GOSPEL	
THE SINNER.	{ Depravity Awakening Inviting Penitential Justification by Faith
THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.	{ Adoption and Assurance Sanctification Prayer and Intercession Family Devotion
MEANS OF GRACE.	{ The Closet Reading the Scriptures Communion of Saints Love-Feast
CHRISTIAN FELLOW- SHIP.	{ The Warfare Patience and Resignation Steadfastness and Growth in Grace
DUTIES AND TRIALS.	{ Unfaithfulness Mourned Backslidings Lamented In Deliverance from Trouble
HUMILIATION.	{ In Communion with God In Prospect of Heaven Erection of Churches
REJOICING.	{ Missionary Sunday-Schools Miscellaneous
SPECIAL OCCASIONS.	{ Watch-Night and New-Year Brevity and Uncertainty of Life Death and Resurrection Day of Judgment
TIME AND ETERNITY.	
CLOSE OF WORSHIP	

But besides the adoption of a general division, the harder task remained of classifying the several hymns under their appropriate heads. This has been so well and thoroughly done, that hardly any difficulty will exist in finding a hymn suited to almost any subject within the range of the pulpit, or to almost any occasion in which singing is introduced. We trust that our friends will give ample study to the new arrangement. It only *needs* careful investigation to secure approval.

3. The prefixing of a brief and condensed *title to each hymn*, is another point in which the new book is far superior to the old. The advantage of this is so obvious, that but a word need be said about it. The only question is, whether the titles are apt, just, and comprehensive; and here, too, we have followed the Committee carefully through the proof-sheets, and have no verdict to render but that of unqualified commendation. We fear that this part of the labour performed by the Sub-Committee will never be duly appreciated—none, perhaps, but those who have tried to do the same thing can imagine how much time and toil must have been expended in framing suitable titles for *eleven hundred and twenty-nine* hymns.

4. The decidedly *Wesleyan character* of the collection is, for us, one of its strongest recommendations. By far the greater proportion of the newly introduced hymns are pure gold from the mint of CHARLES WESLEY; and, if we have counted correctly, six hundred and four out of the eleven hundred

and forty-eight hymns were written by members of the Wesley family! Watts, Doddridge, and Montgomery furnish most of the remainder; and among the new hymns we find names so dear to every lover of sacred poetry as Ken, Heber, and Keble, besides many others.

5. Not the least important feature of the new book is its *copious Indexes*. There is, first, an Index to the Hymns, (occupying twenty-one pages;) then an Index of Subjects, (twelve pages;) an Index of Texts of Scripture Illustrated, (eight pages;) and, finally, an Index of First Lines to every verse of every hymn, (eighteen pages in triple columns.) With these *adminicula*, our friends can rarely be puzzled to find *anything* that can be found in the Hymn-book.

6. The *Sunday-School Supplement* contains seventy-nine hymns, containing (what we wish our readers especially to note) "*nearly all the choice hymns in our language that are peculiarly suited to the capacities of the young and the wants of Sunday-schools.*" Most of the Sunday-school hymn-books are swelled by the use of hymns taken from the ordinary congregational hymn-books; but this Supplement is *exclusively* filled with proper children's hymns. It can be had now either separately, or bound with the Hymn-book; and in this latter form it furnishes what has long been a desideratum, namely, a book that may be used in common by both Sunday-schools and churches. We trust that *all* our Sunday-schools will endeavour to supply themselves with the whole book—Hymns and Supplement together.

7. The *sizes and forms* of the new edition deserve notice. Beginning with the smallest, we have first the 72mo., or pearl edition, which will be sold at a very low price, and will probably be most widely used among young persons and in the Sunday-schools. Next to this is the 32mo., intermediate between the old 48mo. and 24mo.,—a very commodious size, and one for which, in view of its neatness and low price, we augur great popularity. The type is not so small as that of the old 48mo., nor the bulk of the book so great as that of the 24mo. The next size is an entirely new one,—a beautiful 18mo., admitting of a large and bold type,—the *beau-idéal* of a hymn-book for use in the congregation. Then we have the 12mo., in a pica type so clear and full as to delight the eyes. This will be the favourite size for elderly persons, and will perhaps be commonly used in the pulpit. Largest of all will be the *octavo*, being the same plates as the 12mo., printed on large and fine paper, admitting a wide margin, and forming a magnificent book. All these varieties, we are told, will soon be on sale, in every desirable style of binding.

We have thus briefly noticed the distinctive characteristics of the new book, or rather such of them as are open even to a cursory examination. To give a just view of the merits of the book, would require a full review instead of a hasty notice.

It will be seen that no pains or care have been spared in securing accuracy and completeness for this new book, when it is remembered that the work of the Sub-Committee was carefully examined by the General Hymn-Book Committee in repeated meetings; that the results of their labour then underwent a thorough scrutiny from the Book Committee and the Editors; and, finally, that the Bishops examined the whole, page by page, hymn by hymn, and, we believe we may say, line by line. From all these sources suggestions of va-

rious improvements and modifications arose. The General Conference could do no more than it has done to obtain for the Church a complete and permanent Hymn-Book.

A suggestion as to the best mode of introducing the work into use may not be out of place. It will perhaps be judicious, and even necessary, for some time to come, for our ministers to make use of both books in public worship. This can readily be done by taking pains to select such hymns as can be found in each, and by announcing the page in each before reading the hymn. Many of our people may be unwilling to purchase a new book while they have their own in good preservation; and to some, it might even be a hardship. A few years will do away with the awkwardness inseparable from such a measure as the introduction of a new hymn-book; and then the songs of our Zion, in the length and breadth of the land, will be uniformly sung from the noblest collection of HYMNS, we believe, that it has been the privilege of any portion of Christ's Church to employ.

ART. X.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) SIR CHARLES LYELL'S "*Second Visit to the United States of North America*," (2 vols. 12mo., 60 cents each, Harper & Brothers, 1849,) though not quite so flattering in its notices of American life and society as the record of his first tour, is yet a very agreeable narrative. No writer has succeeded so well in combining scientific information with pleasant narrative as Mr. Lyell. In reading his pages, you pass so easily from a clear description or a well-told anecdote to a geological survey or inquiry, that you are hardly disposed in any instance to *skip*, as is the ordinary wont of readers who look to books of travel merely for amusement. Mr. Lyell's occupations as a geologist carried him into regions rarely or never visited by ordinary travellers, and gave him opportunities of intercourse with every class of our population. The result is a testimony so high and so full, as to the general diffusion of intelligence and virtue among the American people, that the work cannot fail to dissipate many of the absurd notions of American life and manners that have so long prevailed in England. At the same time the book is entirely free from anything like fulsome flattery, and indeed it conveys many good lessons for us, sometimes even sharp ones, to which we should do well to take heed. The only thing we have to complain of in the book, is the affectation of philosophic indifference and superiority in which Sir Charles speaks of religion and its institutions. It never amounts to irreverence or scoffing; but there is an undertone, of which, perhaps, the writer himself was unconscious, that offends a religious mind in spite of the decorous language always employed in the book. Take the following oracular passage, on a subject of which Sir Charles Lyell could, from the nature of things, know little or nothing:—

"On the way I conversed with the driver of our carriage about the village churches, and, being very communicative, he told me he was a Free-will Baptist, but had only

become a Christian five years ago, when he was awakened from a state of indifference by a revival which took place near Bethlehem. This meeting, he said, was got up and managed by the Methodists; but some Baptists, and one orthodox (Independent or Congregationalist) minister had assisted, in all sixteen ministers, and for twenty-one days in succession there had been prayers and preaching incessantly from morning to night. I had already seen in a New-York paper the following advertisement: 'A protracted meeting is now in progress at the — church in — street. There have been a number of conversions, and it is hoped the work of grace has but just commenced. Preaching every evening: seats free.' I was surprised to hear of the union of ministers of more than one denomination on this occasion, and, on inquiry, was told by a Methodist that no Episcopalians would join, 'because they do not sufficiently rely on regeneration and the new man.' It appears, indeed, to be essential to the efficacy of this species of excitement, that there should be a previous belief that each may hope at a particular moment 'to receive comfort,' as they term it, or that their conversion may be as sudden as was that of St. Paul. A Boston friend assured me that when he once attended a revival sermon, he heard the preacher describe the symptoms which they might expect to experience on the first, second, and third day previous to their conversion, just as a medical lecturer might expatiate to his pupils on the progress of a well-known disease; and 'the complaint,' he added, 'is indeed a serious one, and very contagious, when the feelings have obtained an entire control over the judgment, and the new convert is in the power of the preacher. He himself is often worked up to such a pitch of enthusiasm, as to have lost all command over his own heated imagination.'

"It is the great object of the ministers who officiate on these occasions to keep up a perpetual excitement; but while they are endeavouring by personal appeals to overcome the apathy of dull, slow, and insensible minds, they run the risk of driving others, of weaker nerves and a more sensitive temperament, who are sitting on 'the anxious benches,' to the very verge of distraction."—Vol. i, pp. 73, 74.

And also the following:—

"The Methodists had just been holding a protracted meeting in Montgomery, and such is the effect of sympathy and of the spirit of competition, that the religious excitement had spread to all the other sects."—Vol. ii, p. 43.

Here is a passage, in relation to the effect produced on the condition of slaves by the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church, containing a profound truth, though it displays, again, ignorance of the subject:—

"Until lately, the humblest slave who joined the Methodist or Baptist denomination could feel that he was one of a powerful association of Christians, which numbered hundreds of thousands of brethren in the northern as well as in the southern States. He could claim many schools and colleges of high repute in New-England as belonging to his own sect, and feel proud of many celebrated writers whom they have educated. Unfortunately, a recent separation, commonly called 'the north and south split,' has severed these bonds of fellowship and fraternity, and for the sake of renouncing brotherhood with slave-owners, the northern churches have repudiated all communion with the great body of their negro fellow-Christians. What effect can such estrangement have on the mind, whether of master or slave, favourable to the cause of emancipation? The slight thrown on the aristocracy of planters has no tendency to conciliate them, or lead them to assimilate their sentiments to those of their brethren in the faith, with whom formerly, throughout the northern and free States, they had so intimate a connexion; and as for the slaves, it is to them a positive loss to be thus rejected and disowned. The rank and position of the negro preachers in the south, whether Baptist or Methodist, some of them freemen, and of good abilities, is decidedly lowered by the severance of the northern churches, which is therefore adverse to the gradual advancement of the African race, which can alone fit them for manumission."—Vol. i, pp. 270, 271.

We quote the following passage, showing up, in company, a *Protestant* (!) Episcopal minister and a coloured Methodist minister in Louisville, Ky.:—

"On Sunday we attended service in an Episcopal church. The young preacher dwelt largely on the supreme authority of the Church, and lamented that many dogmas and pious usages, which had received the unbroken sanction of fifteen centuries, should have been presumptuously set at naught by the rebellious spirit of the sixteenth century, the great intellectual movement of which he described as marked by two characteristics, 'nonsense and philosophy;' nor was it easy to discover which of these two influences, in their reference to matters ecclesiastical, were most evil in his sight. After a long dissertation in this strain, he called up to him a number of intelligent looking young girls to be catechized, and I never saw a set of children with more agreeable or animated countenances, or who displayed more of that modest reverence, and entire, unreflecting trust in their teacher, which it is so pleasing to see in young pupils. That some of the questions should have reference to the doctrines just laid down in the preceding discourse was to be expected. One of the last interrogatories, 'Who wrote the Prayer-book?' puzzled the whole class. After waiting in vain for an answer, the minister exclaimed, 'Your mother;' and made a short pause, during which I saw the girls exchange quick glances, and I found time to imagine that each might be exclaiming mentally to herself, 'Can he mean my mother?' when he added, in a solemn and emphatic tone, 'Your mother, the Church!' Had his congregation belonged to any other than the Anglican Church, I might simply have felt regret and melancholy at much that I had witnessed; as it was, I came out of the church in a state of no small indignation. I had heard, in the course of my travels, several discourses equally at variance with the spirit of the Reformation, but none before in which the Reformation itself was so openly denounced, and I could not help reflecting on the worldly wisdom of those who, wishing, in the middle of the nineteenth century, to unprotestantize the members of a reformed church, begin their work at an age when the mind is yet unformed and plastic—dealing with the interior of the skull as certain Indian mothers dealt with its exterior, when they bound it between flat boards, and caused it to grow, not as nature intended, but into a shape which suited the fashion of their tribe.

"In the evening we were taken, at our request, to a black Methodist church, where our party were the only whites in a congregation of about four hundred. There was nothing offensive in the atmosphere of the place, and I learned, with pleasure, that this commodious building was erected and lighted with gas by the blacks themselves, aided by subscriptions from many whites of different sects. The preacher was a full black, spoke good English, and quoted Scripture well. Occasionally he laid down some mysterious and metaphysical points of doctrine with a dogmatic air, and with a vehement confidence, which seemed to increase in proportion as the subjects transcended the human understanding, at which moments he occasionally elicited from his sympathizing hearers, especially from some of the women, exclamations such as, 'That is true,' and other signs of assent, but no loud cries and sobs, such as I had heard in a white Methodist church in Montgomery, Alabama. It appeared from his explanation of 'Whose superscription is this?' that he supposed the piece of money to be a dollar note, to which Caesar had put his signature. He spoke of our ancestors in the garden of Eden in a manner that left no doubt of his agreeing with Dr. Prichard, that we all came from one pair—a theory to which, for my own part, I could never see any ethnological or physiological objection, provided time enough be allowed for the slow growth of races; though I once heard Mr. A. W. Schlegel, at Bonn, pronounce it to be a heresy, especially in an Englishman who had read the 'Paradise Lost.'—Vol. ii, pp. 212, 213.

(2.) WE know of no work in which scientific subjects are so well adapted to the popular mind, as "*Popular Lectures on Science and Art*, by DIONYSIUS LARDNER:" (tenth edition: New-York, Greeley & M'Elrath, 1849, 2 vols. 8vo.) The greater part of Dr. Lardner's life has been spent in the practical application of the physical sciences to the uses of life, and in communicating the elements of these sciences to the public in oral lectures. No course of training could have better fitted him for the preparation of a work designed to make the most abstruse subjects clear, and the driest topics of science attractive. Substituting proofs expressed in common language, and within ordinary com-

prehension, for rigid mathematical demonstrations, and setting forth his topics in an order of progressive difficulty, he has succeeded in producing a book, which, for simplicity and perspicuity of style, and abundance of felicitous illustration, stands unrivalled among works of its class. Our readers can thus obtain, for a few dollars, a cyclopedia of information on almost all branches of physical science.

(3.) "*History of the American Bible Society, from its Organization to the Present Time*, by W. P. STRICKLAND, one of the Society's Agents. With an Introduction by Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D." (New-York, 1849, Harper & Brothers, 8vo., pp. 466.) Such a work as this has long been needed. We have often been put to trouble for want of some information in regard to the Bible Society, which could only be attained by searching the voluminous reports and documents of many years. We have here a digest of such information, elaborately yet simply set forth in consecutive order, and arranged under appropriate heads. Every minister of the gospel, every advocate of the Bible Society, nay, every friend of the Bible and of its distribution, should possess himself of this volume. At some future day we hope to give a more extended review of its contents, with a survey of the vast work of benevolence and love which it commemorates.

(4.) THE first American edition of Gieseler's "*Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*," translated by Cunningham, met with a most favourable reception, and was, indeed, regarded by the best authorities as *the* text-book on that subject. Since that translation appeared, a fourth edition of the first volume of the original has been published, and from this edition a new translation has been made by SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL. D. (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849, 2 vols., 8vo.) With those who know Professor Gieseler's work it is needless for us to say more; but for those who do not, we may state, that it is beyond question the most learned, faithful, and impartial *Compendium* of Church History that has ever appeared. Its most marked features are, the judicious arrangement of the periods of history, the close, compact narrative in the text, and, most of all, the abundant *sources* of information given in the notes. In this last particular no other work resembles it;—it does not merely give *references*, but on all difficult or controverted points, the quotations bearing on the subject are given at length, thus enabling the reader, who has not at command the treasures of a vast library, to consult, in no slight degree, the original sources for himself. The two volumes already published, (which are brought out in Messrs. Harpers' very best style,) bring the history down to the eleventh century, and the two that are to follow will bring it nearly to our own times. The student who has Gieseler and Neander on his shelves, may congratulate himself on possessing a better apparatus of church history than his less favoured teachers enjoyed years ago in rows of huge folios.

(5.) To dismiss such a book as "*The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, by JOHN RUSKIN," (New-York, J. Wiley, 1849, 12mo., pp. 186,) with a brief notice, is almost literary treason. All who have read "*Modern Painters*, by an Oxford

Graduate," will remember how they were charmed and spell-bound by the eloquent enthusiasm of that work; and this has all the eloquence and all the enthusiasm of the author's former work, with far more directness and instructiveness. It is as if the highest genius of Painter and Poet had been combined to make an Architect—or rather, to make a teacher and inspirer of architects. The "Seven Lamps" figure the moral and spiritual laws under which the architect must work in the highest works of his art—the laws, namely, of Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, and Obedience. And although we cannot sympathize with the highest tones of feeling in the book, and feel occasionally sure that the artist's enthusiasm is excessive, sometimes even absurd, yet we know no book of art whose influence is likely to be more refining, elevating, and ennobling, than the Seven Lamps of Architecture.

(6.) "*The History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution*, by RICHARD HILDRETH:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849: 8 vo., vols. 1 and 2.) It is Mr. Hildreth's design, as stated in his preface, to "set forth the personages of our colonial and revolutionary history, such as they really were in their own day and generation, living and breathing men," and to condense, into three volumes, an accurate account of the progress of the country from the first settlements down "even to the present times." This last part of his purpose will doubtless be accomplished; in the former he has failed. There are no "living, breathing men" in his book: but there is abundance of clear statement, and of accurate narrative. He has succeeded in combining "a mass of materials, generally dry, sometimes defective, and sometimes contradictory, into a harmonious and well-proportioned whole;" but not in narrative even "*somewhat* picturesque and lifelike." We do not bring this against him as a reproach; on the contrary, a history of the United States, to be compressed within the limits to which he has restricted himself, must, of necessity, be little else than a bald recital of facts. His work fills a want, and is therefore most welcome. Its positive merits, in addition to those already mentioned, are impartiality, steadiness of view, clear appreciation of character, and, in point of style, a terseness and conciseness not unlike Tacitus, with not a little, too, of Tacitean vigour of thought, stern sense of justice, sharp irony, and profound wisdom. We think this judgment can be justified in a full review of the work, which we hope to offer to our readers after the appearance of Mr. Hildreth's third volume. In the mean time, if we were in Mr. Hildreth's confidence, we should urge him to study carefully the use of the *adverbs of time* in the English language. He almost invariably uses relative adverbs, (for example, *past, since, hitherto*) which can only refer to *present* time, in connexion with the preterite; for instance, "Pitt, for some time past withdrawn from public affairs, was unconnected, &c." Such cases occur on almost every page. There is also a singular obscurity in occasional sentences, (the more remarkable as the style is generally so clear,) arising from a careless use of the personal pronouns: for example, "A brutal assault by a commissioner of the customs, whom he met in a tavern, in which James Otis had been almost killed, and from the effects of which he never fully re-

covered, deprived Massachusetts of his services." We defer further notice of this timely and important contribution to American literature, until the appearance of the third volume.

(7.) THE REV. R. W. LANDIS, who is known as a writer of considerable merit on theological subjects, has just put forth *an Epic poem in twenty-nine books*, called "*Liberty's Triumph*." (New-York: J. Wiley. 12mo., pp. 544.) In the "Induction" we find the following:—

"Reader, if you've ne'er heard from me before,
Be grateful; for it ne'er has been because
I have not written Poems in abundance;
But simply that I've done what had been well
For many other Poets too to have done,—
I gave my minor offspring to the fire,
Instead of troubling critics to impale them,
And then to write their epitaph. (And they'll
Determine whether it had not been well
So to have done with this.)"—P. xii.

We shall *not* judge, but let our readers decide from a specimen or two what it "had been better" for Mr. Landis "to have done with this."

After the French war, we are told that—

"Peace at home
Gives Albion time the States to tempt again
To upyield their liberties. * * * * *
Yet still the Colonies, unwilling all
That any strife with their loved fatherland
Should be upraised, for seasons long endure
Th' unkind oppression; and endeavour long,
By mild remonstrance with her, to refrain
From the dire course which ultimately must
Produce a severance never to be healed.
But their complaints unheeded she; and then
Ere long the Stamp Act passed; and, knowing well
The law would wholly disregarded stand
Throughout the Colonies, unless were means
Adopted to enforce it, she decrees
That penalties for violations be
Recovered in the Admiralty Courts."—P. 49.

Here is an account of the Boston Tea-party, and its results:—

"Now England on the States essays t' enforce
The goods whereon had Parliament assessed
The duty; but resistance meets from all.
Her ships, tea-laden rich, arrive the port
At Boston, but the citizens forbade
Aught effort them t' unload; yet it perforce
Attempted is; when they the vessels board
And the commodity cast to the waves:
At which resistance Parliament in ire
Upclashes Boston port; and, too, removes
Its charter from the Massachusetts State,
Declaring it rebellious: Then to crush
The city 'neath the Albion arm for aye,
Proffers to Salem city Boston trade,
Who nobly spurns the proffer. While the States
Permitted ne'er their Massachusetts friends

Such sufferings to endure sans sympathy;
 But every effort made to mitigate
 Their great severity: yea, e'en the day
 Whereon the cruel injuries began,
 They thence a day of public mourning hold.
 While, too, in England, souls humane, aroused
 By the unkind oppression, likewise seek
 To mitigate the woes by Boston borne:
 In aidance of whose poor, by London now
 Myriads thrice five of dollars are bestowed."—Pp. 59, 60.

Mr. Landis thus celebrates Washington's disinterested refusal of pay when nominated as Commander-in-chief:—

"As to the stipend, sir,
 I shall decline it. For as no reward
 Pecuniary could have me induced
 To accept the employment arduous, I shall be
 E'en amply recompensed and more, if Heaven
 Shall with success herein our efforts crown."—Pp. 87, 88.

We cannot afford room for further specimens.

(8.) MESSRS. HARPER and BROTHERS have republished (from the London edition, noticed in our last) "*Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome, being Notes of Conversations held with certain Jesuits on the Subject of Religion in the City of Rome*, by the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M. A." (12mo., pp. 237.) Mr. Seymour visited Rome, not merely to behold its monuments, its sculptures, and its ruins, but also, and chiefly, in order to "see and study the true genius of the Church of Rome, and judge for himself as to her nature and character." The results of his observations upon the *public services, ceremonies, processions, &c.*, have already been published in his "*Pilgrimage to Rome*." But besides these open sources of information, he became, incidentally, acquainted with a number of Jesuits, professors in the Collegio Romano, with whom he held a series of conversations on the points controverted between the Churches of England and of Rome. They were desirous of making a proselyte, and, it seems, thought themselves in a fair way to secure one in Mr. Seymour, who at first very frankly told them that he was perfectly satisfied with his own religious convictions, but seems afterwards, not without the appearance, at least, of disingenuousness, to have tacitly allowed them to retain their own views and hopes. To secure accuracy, he wrote his notes of the conversations on the very day on which each was held; and this book, he states, is little else than accurate transcript of his memoranda.

The work is full of interest. It shows one fact which many Protestants will be slow to believe; namely, that great intellectual power and high culture may be found united in Romish priests with the extreme of credulity, amounting, indeed, almost to anility. Doubtless there are many eminent men in the Church of Rome who are unbelievers not only in their creed, but in all creeds. But this book shows that it is grossly uncharitable to consider every educated and intelligent priest as a hypocrite. At the same time, what is gained for their personal honesty, is lost for their system. A system which can thus prostrate and crush lofty minds *must* be a terrible one. Here is a conversation in re-

gard to the efficacy of "miraculous" pictures and images. Remember that the Romish interlocutor is a man of learning, intelligence, and high position:—

"I referred to the miraculous picture of the Virgin Mary in the Church of S. Maria Maggiore; to the miraculous image of our Lord as a child in the church at Ara-cœli; to the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary in the Church of the Augustines; and to several other pictures and images, which were said to be miraculous, and which were worshipped with a special and peculiar devotion—were crowned and carried in procession precisely as the ancient heathens of Rome used to carry the images of their gods. I stated that these things seemed very gross, and that usually, in England, the advocates of the Church of Rome got rid of all objections derived from them by disavowing all these things as abuses, as exaggerations, as bad or superstitious practices, which were not acknowledged or practised by the well-informed, and were not approved by the Church. I therefore would take the opportunity of asking him, living as he did at the fountain-head, and capable of informing me with some authority, whether others or myself could be justified in setting the objection aside in that way, namely, by attributing these things to the ignorance of the foolish and superstitious.

"He answered without the least hesitation, and in a manner that took me by surprise. He answered that I had taken a very wrong view of these particulars in regarding them as extravagant or absurd; for, although they might appear strange to me, as at one time they had appeared to himself—so strange, indeed, as sometimes to be absolutely loathsome to his feelings—and although he felt himself unable to justify them in themselves, yet there was no doubt of their being approved in practice by the Church; that they were no exaggeration or caricature, but real verities, which at one time were a stumbling-block and offence to his own mind. He added that there was much that might be said in their favour, for that the Italians were a people very different from the English; that the English loved a religion of the *heart*, and the Italians a religion of the *senses*; the English a religion of the *feelings*, and the Italians a religion for the *taste*; the English an *inward and spiritual religion*, and the Italian an *outward and visible religion*; and that it was the intention of the Church, as well as her duty, to arrange all the rites, ceremonies, acts, services of religion, so as to be suitable to an outward and visible religion, and calculated for the mind of Italy; and thus those particulars concerning the crowning and processions of miraculous pictures and miraculous images, however strange and absurd to the English, have been sanctioned by the Church as both natural and wise to the Italians."—Pp. 36–38.

And again:—

"His explanation led me to advance a step in our argument, and to say that his statements seemed to imply that there was something peculiar to those images and pictures, something inherent in them as compared with others, something not in the saint or angel represented, but in these very pictures and images themselves. I endeavoured to illustrate my meaning by suggesting two pictures of the Virgin Mary placed side by side, and asking whether one being supposed to be miraculous, the people would pray before that one rather than the other; and whether he believed the Virgin Mary would interfere with a miraculous answer for those who prayed to her before that one rather than the other. I added, that if such was the case, it went to prove a belief that there was something peculiar, some virtue or power, something miraculous in such a picture, in one rather than the other, and that the distinction proved that the people did look for something in pictures and images more than the persons whom they were designed to represent.

"He gave the fullest assent to this, saying that they looked first of all to the saint represented in the picture or image, and that then, in case there was a miraculous character, they looked also to that power or virtue. He added, that his full belief was, that the Virgin Mary was more partial to some representations of herself than to others; and that, in order to induce the devout to pray before these her favourite ones, she heard and answered the prayers so offered, while she neglected those that were offered elsewhere; answering the prayers offered before one picture which she liked, and refusing those offered before a picture which she did not like."—Pp. 40, 41.

Another conversation referred to a poor Swiss soldier, a Protestant, who was visited on his dying bed by the priest, and who "moved his lips" when

the "Hail, Mary" was repeated in his hearing. The man was speechless, and the fact that he *seemed* to follow the priest in the "Hail, Mary" was taken as proof of his conversion. In concluding his account of this wonderful "conversion," the priest said,—

"I baptized the man conditionally, and then I had him immediately confirmed, and he received the communion, and then the extreme unction, and thus he received almost at once no less than five sacraments!"

"He spoke this in a tone of exultation and triumph, as if some great and good achievement had been accomplished. I must confess that I was amused, notwithstanding the sadness of his statement and the solemnity of the subject. It seemed so strange a proceeding for a man—a minister of Christ, at the bed of a dying man, merely to offer as a prayer the 'Hail, Mary;' it seemed so simply said that when a Protestant prays to the Virgin Mary he must be very far gone; it seemed so necessary to apologize for rebaptizing a Protestant; it seemed so absurd to speak of a speechless man making a confession of his sins so as to receive absolution; and, above all, it seemed so inconsistent with all our views of true religion to regard it as necessary, and even to make a boast of it, that this speechless man had in so short a time received the five sacraments, penance, baptism, confirmation, communion, extreme unction!"

* * * * *

"I asked why, on so solemn an occasion as a death-bed, when an immortal soul was about passing into the presence of God, why did you pray to the Virgin Mary instead of praying to Jesus Christ? In common with all Protestants, I would have prayed to Jesus Christ, or to God through Jesus Christ.

"He answered that it was their opinion—the opinion, too, of many of the fathers—that God hears our prayers more quickly when they are offered through the blessed Virgin than when offered through any one else."—Pp. 100–102.

We should be glad to quote further, but our limits forbid. The book, we hope, will be widely read.

(9.) OF all the books upon Hydropathy which have come under our notice, the most lucid and satisfactory is "*The Domestic Practice of Hydropathy*," by EDWARD JOHNSON, M. D., (New-York, John Wiley, 1849, 12mo., pp. 467.) But the title will mislead many. The danger of *domestic* medical practice, whether of the drug or water school, cannot be overrated. Indeed, the present writer says in his preface, that "it forms no part of the objects of this work to lead the suffering to believe that they can altogether dispense with the services of medical men;" but surely the best way to tempt them to this is to put into their hands a book of Domestic Practice. The book bears marks of scientific culture; Dr. Johnson does not write like a charlatan or a quack. Those who wish to study the system of the water-cure will do well to read the work.

(10.) "*The Singer's Manual, for Teachers, Pupils, and Private Students*," by F. A. ADAMS, G. F. ROOT, and J. E. SWEETZER, (New-York, J. Wiley, 1849,) is a neat 18mo. of 254 pages. It appears to be the Ollendorff of musical text-books, not exhibiting scientific principles in formal array, but presenting them one by one, as they are called for by the points successively reached in developing a system of culture for the voice. "In this way," says the preface, "each elementary principle is learned through the process of discovery and practice, and hence learned well; while the special aim of the book—the training of the singer—is steadily carried forward."

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. I.—45

(11.) MR. WILEY has republished the fourth volume of "*Half-Hours with the best Authors, selected and arranged, with short Biographical and Critical Notices*, by CHARLES KNIGHT." (12mo., pp. 616.) With this volume there is furnished an index to the whole four, thus making the work a complete commonplace-book of specimens from the choicest writers of Old and New-England. Our readers who have furnished themselves with the former volumes, need not be told with how much taste and skill the selections are made; those who have not, will find here a half-hour's reading for the six days of the week, and a religious extract for Sunday—three hundred and sixty-five in all—forming a year's reading, easily and quietly done, of the *best* of English literature.

(12.) WHEN reviewing "Forster's Life of Goldsmith" in our July No. we found cause to complain of the intolerable prolixity of that work. We also confessed that in that vast mass there was much real gold, though somewhat mixed with foreign matter. It was plain that the work needed to be reduced in size, though it was not so plain that this could be satisfactorily accomplished. But now our ideal is more than realized in a work just issued by Mr. G. P. Putnam, entitled, "*Oliver Goldsmith: a Biography*, by WASHINGTON IRVING." The author's name is itself sufficient to secure for the book a favourable reception by the public; but it will not need such aid after it has been once read, and thus becomes known. Mr. Irving, like all writers of real genius, has his favourite departments in literature, of which biography is the chief; and of all men, Goldsmith is the most fitting subject for his pen. Accordingly we have a vivid, life-like picture of that wonderful congeries of inconsistencies, sketched with truthful fidelity, though slightly coloured by the genial charity of the author; and instead of Mr. Forster's seven hundred octavo pages, the whole is comprised in less than four hundred, duodecimo. Henceforth the names of Goldsmith and Irving will be still more closely conjoined, as doubtless this will continue to be *the* Life of Goldsmith. This volume forms No. XI. of the uniform edition of Irving's Works, now in process of publication by Mr. Putnam.

(13.) WE have received from Messrs. Gates, Stedman, & Co., three volumes of the "*Natural Series of School-Books*," being a Primer, a First Reader, and a Second Reader. The peculiarity of the method employed in these books is, that the child is instructed fully in the sounds or powers of the letters at the beginning, and made to get all knowledge of reading by gradual lessons, each thoroughly intelligible to the pupil at his incursive stages of advancement. We commend the series to the careful attention of teachers.

(14.) THE time has not yet arrived for the *history* of the French Revolution of 1848; still, every contribution to its memoirs is valuable, not merely, or mainly, for present use, but as material for future history. In this view we may regard as important even so light a work as the "*History of the National Constituent Assembly, from May, 1848*, by J. F. CORKRAN, Esq." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1849. 12mo., pp. 377, price 75 cents.) Its chief value

lies, not in its record of facts, nor in political or philosophical wisdom,—for to this it has little claim,—but in its description of the personal appearance and bearing of the chief actors in the stirring scenes of the year of revolutions, and in its graphic accounts of the movements of that eventful time. Mr. Corkran attended the National Assembly almost daily for months as a reporter, and took notes of many of the speeches, so that his work is “an original effort at painting a series of scenes which it was given to but few of his countrymen to witness.” As such it is successful; and our readers who desire a connected and very readable sketch of the men and the deeds of 1848, will do well to purchase the book.

(15.) “*The Claims of our Country on its Literary Men*,” is the title of the oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard University, by Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D. D. No man has succeeded more eminently than Dr. Bethune in the difficult task of College Orations; and no one of his successes, we judge, has been greater than that achieved in July before the Phi Beta Kappa. Its most striking feature is its healthiness of tone, both moral and mental;—there are no affectations, no transcendentalisms, but the most manly good sense, expressed in a style as pure and transparent as it is fresh and vigorous. We should gladly quote certain parts of this admirable address, but our limits forbid; and must content ourselves with the brief and inadequate testimony we have given of its excellence.

(16.) “*The Theological Lectures of the late Rev. DAVID BOGUE, D. D.*,” edited by Rev. J. S. C. F. FREY, have been republished in a handsome octavo volume (806 pp.) by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. They consist of naked skeletons, probably taken from the notes of one of Dr. Bogue’s students at the Missionary Seminary, Gosport—certainly never meant to be printed, and never worth printing. There are some strange freaks of orthography in this edition: Rapin is sometimes *Rappin*; Quintilian oscillates between *Quintilian* and *Punctilian*; Belles-Lettres is now *Belle Letters*, and then *Bell’s Letters*; Limborch is invariably curtailed into *Limbock*; while Bates swells into *Baïtes*, and Witherspoon into *Whitherspoon*.

(17.) WE have received at the last moment the “*Descriptive Catalogue of the Sunday School Publications and Tracts of the Methodist Episcopal Church*.” (New-York: Lane & Scott. 8vo.) It forms a fine octavo of one hundred and eighty-three pages, a noble monument of the energy and fidelity of the men to whom the interests of our Sunday-School cause have been intrusted, and, most of all, to the industry, good taste, and judgment of the present editor, Rev. D. P. Kidder. The Catalogue is classified under eleven heads, as follow:—I. *Sunday-School Requisites*,—Books of Registry, Spelling and Reading Book, Catechisms, Question Books, Notes and Commentaries, Lesson Books, Manuals, &c., Dictionaries, Hymns and Music, Scriptures, Maps, Cards, Certificates, &c.; II. *Sunday-School Rewards*,—Children’s Tracts, in 48mo.; Children’s Books, in paper covers,—Class I., arranged in packages; Class I., arranged according to size. Books, in paper covers,—Class II., arrangement in

packages; Class II., arrangement according to size; III. *Choice Gift Books*,—Books in 18mo.; IV. *Books for Reading*, alphabetically arranged; V. *Libraries, Numerically Arranged*,—Children's Library, Series A and B; Youth's Library; VI. *Classification of the Youth's Library*; VII. *Adult Library*; VIII. *Tracts*; IX. *Publications in German*; X. *Libraries*; XI. *Periodicals*; so that any article, book, or tract can be found with ease, and, moreover, a complete survey of the supply for each department is given at once. The Catalogue is beautifully printed in fine, bold type, and illustrated by numerous wood-cuts. A more extended notice will be given hereafter.

(18.) DR. BANGS' Letters on Slavery, which have appeared within the last few years in several of our Church papers, are now collected under the title of "*Emancipation, its Necessity and Means of Accomplishment, calmly submitted to the Citizens of the United States.*" (Lane & Scott, 1849. 8vo., pp. 101.) The work treats briefly of the history of slavery, and of its introduction into this country, and proposes a plan for its removal; the substance of which is, that "Congress make a proposition to the several slave States that so much per head shall be allowed for every slave that shall be emancipated, leaving it to the State legislatures respectively to adopt their own measures for effecting the object." The objections to this plan are next considered, and then follows an array of motives to emancipation, strong enough, one would think, to rouse all but the dead to the importance of the task. The book is written in a most earnest spirit, but in language singularly calm and moderate, furnishing an excellent model, in this respect, for all who write on either side of this exciting question.

(19.) MR. JOHN BALL, of Philadelphia, has sent us copies of his portraits of *Asbury* and *M'Kendree*, beautifully engraved by T. B. Welch. These are among the best specimens of portrait engraving that we have seen. The memory of our fathers is precious, and it is good to keep memorials of this sort before our families and our children. We should be glad to see these portraits in every Methodist family.

(20.) "SOUTHEY'S *Common-Place Book*," (or rather the "First Series" of it,) edited by his son-in-law, J. W. WARTER, has been republished by Messrs. Harper & Brothers, (8vo., pp. 416, price \$1 00 in paper.) The world knows that Southey was an omnivorous reader, and this record shows that he was an equally omnivorous collector. The "editing" has been no editing, so far as we can see, except in the last half of the volume, and the Index; but it is due to Mr. Warter to say, that he is "editor only from page 203." Had the various excerpts been classified, and arranged under appropriate heads, the value of the book would have been indefinitely enhanced; but even as it is, with the aid of the Index, we can get at Southey's reading (or rather a small part of it) on a vast variety of topics, from "cravats" to "Christianity," from "earrings" to "ethics." We have been struck, in looking over the volume, with the danger of making hasty or doubtful excerpts. Many foolish and many false things are printed and perpetuated in this book which would else

have fallen into comparative oblivion. Here is one of silly Horace Walpole's gossiping stories, which no man believed less than Southey; yet it now goes forth, without note or comment, in a book with his name on the title-page, and many, in the absence of better knowledge, will swallow it for truth:—

“The apostle Whitefield is come to some shame. He went to Lady Huntingdon lately, and asked for forty pounds for some distressed saint or other. She said she had not so much money in the house, but would give it him the first time she had. He was very pressing, but in vain. At last he said, ‘There’s your watch and trinkets, you don’t want such vanities; I will have that.’ She would have put him off; but he persisting, she said, ‘Well, if you must have it, you must.’ About a fortnight afterwards, going to his house, and being carried into his wife’s chamber, among the paraphernalia of the latter the Countess found her own offering. This has made a terrible schism: she tells the story herself. I had not it from St. Frances,* but I hope it is true.”—*Private Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, vol. ii, p. 255.”

The editor tells us that he had “added a few notes on doubtful passages, but on reflection crossed them out.” It had been well to make a note on this slander, and *not* to have crossed it out.

(21.) MESSRS. HARPER and BROTHERS have published a new edition of “*Typee, a Peep at Polynesian Life, during a Four Months’ Residence in the Marquesas*, by HERMAN MELVILLE.” (12mo., pp. 307, 75 cents.) This fascinating narrative can now be recommended to our readers almost without reserve, as the offensive and unjust observations on the Missions in Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands, which detracted so much from the credit of the first edition of the work, are entirely omitted in this. After the failure of “*Mardi*,” Mr. Melville may have reason to felicitate himself on a re-appearance of the sparkling and delightful narrative which first gained him fame.

(22.) “*History of Julius Cæsar*,” by JACOB ABBOTT. (Harper & Brothers. 18mo., pp. 278.) Another of Mr. Abbott’s series of narratives for youth. We have only to repeat the almost unqualified commendation given to these books in former numbers of this journal.

(23.) In addition to the volumes of Chalmers’ Posthumous Works, noticed in the extended review contained in this number, we have received the first volume of “*Institutes of Theology*, by the late THOMAS CHALMERS, LL. D.” (12mo., pp. 542. Harper & Brothers, 1849.) The two volumes will contain the substance of Chalmers’ Course of Lectures to his Theological Class, put by himself into the form in which they are here presented. In that course he did not follow the usual routine of systematic Theology, but began with preliminary ethics and metaphysics, and treated of Natural Theology and the Evidences of Christianity before entering upon the “subject-matter of Christianity,” under which head he exhibits, first, the “Disease for which the Gospel Remedy is provided;” and, secondly, the “Gospel Remedy” itself. Though Chalmers was not a master of Biblical literature or criticism, his broad views of Christian theology, his amplitude of illustration, and his fervent spirit, give a value to his *Institutes* which many more profound and scientific treatises lack. We regret that this volume arrived too late for a fuller notice.

* Lady Frances Shirley.

ART. XI.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

England.

Wesleyan Methodist Conference.—The one hundred and sixth Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Conference was held in the Oldham-street Chapel, Manchester, beginning the 25th of July, and closing on the 14th of August. It was in many respects the most exciting, as well as the most important, conference that has been held for many years. . . . Thirty-seven young men were admitted into full connexion, and sixty-seven came forward as candidates for examination, but one of whom was rejected. . . . Twelve members of the hundred had died during the year. . . . The net increase of members in Great Britain, Ireland, and the foreign stations was 8,747. Ninety-eight chapels have been built and twenty-two embarrassed chapels relieved during the year. There have been 21,367 young persons under catechetical instruction, of whom 1,913 have been added to the Church. The number of Sunday-schools is 4,344; of children, 461,197; and of teachers, 18,972. In the Wesleyan Day Schools there are 38,962, including boys, girls, and infants.

The most painful feature in the proceedings of the Conference was the expulsion of three of its members,—Rev. James Everett, the Rev. Samuel Dunn, and the Rev. Wm. Griffith, junr., preachers severally of forty, thirty, and thirteen years' standing in the Conference. The causes that led to this sad result may be thus briefly traced. Between the years 1844 and 1847 certain publications appeared, without name, place, or date, entitled "*Fly Sheets*," in which violent attacks were made upon the eminent men at the head of the various administrative branches of the Church service. We have never seen these anonymous issues, but take the following statement of their character and contents from the official account of the proceedings of the Conference in the case:—"These papers were characterized by intense bitterness of feeling in reference to certain excellent ministers, whom they described as 'indolent,' 'selfish,' 'artful,' 'ambitious,' and 'tyrannical;' and also by other personalities, so grossly offensive and libellous that the parties issuing them did not dare to affix the name of either printer or publisher. Not content with endeavouring to damage the character of individuals who had hitherto been regarded with the highest esteem, the

writers attacked the administration of the affairs of the Connexion in general. They declared that its resources were perverted to uphold a system of favouritism, oppression, and extravagance; that many of the public acts of the Conference proceeded from corrupt motives, or were of a mischievous tendency; and, while suggesting extensive changes in its system of proceeding, and representing the members of the Conference as enslaved, and longing for emancipation, they exhorted them to vigorous and united efforts to shake off the unhallowed yoke. The certain and obvious tendency—not to say the avowed design—of these publications was to destroy the mutual confidence upon which our Connexion is based, and to subvert, or at least greatly to impede the operation of, our several institutions." The Conference, in 1847, passed a resolution, (with only two dissentients, of whom Rev. Samuel Dunn was one,) testifying, in effect, that the "*Fly Sheets*" were wicked slanders. Still their evil effects continued to be apparent; and although it was deemed certain that some members of the Conference were concerned in their publication, no trace of their origin was discovered until some time during the past year, when it was found that a manuscript of Rev. Daniel Walton's had been inserted in one of the issues. Mr. Walton was arraigned before the District Meeting, and the fact was established that he had been "cognizant and concerned in the preparation of the *Fly Sheets*." At the Conference, however, Mr. Walton expressed his disapprobation of the *Fly Sheets*, and promised to aid his brethren in "putting them down, so far as he could with a good conscience do so." In his case, therefore, it was simply resolved that "Mr. Walton be solemnly admonished from the chair," and that "he be declared disqualified, for the present, for being the superintendent of a circuit." Suspicion had been fixed also upon the Rev. Messrs. Everett, Burdsall, George Dunn, and Griffith; the two last of whom had been engaged in the publication also of the "*Wesley Banner*,"—a monthly periodical, supposed to have views and aims similar to those of the "*Fly Sheets*." They were required, in effect, to purge themselves by a declaration that they were *not* guilty, or to pledge themselves to a certain line of conduct di-

tated by the Conference. The authority to put direct questions, involving the guilt or innocence of parties against whom no charges had been brought, was founded on what was said to be ancient usage, "supported especially by the Minutes of 1777 and the Declaratory Resolutions of 1835,"—one of which declares, that "not only the Conference, but all its district committees, whether ordinary or special, possess the undoubted right of instituting, in their official and collective character, any inquiry or investigation which they may deem expedient, into the moral, Christian, or ministerial conduct of the preachers under their care, even although no formal or regular accusation may have been previously announced on the part of any individual." The parties refused to answer, and the final action of the Conference in their cases, therefore, was grounded on their contumacy. Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith were expelled; Mr. Burdsall, an aged man, admonished; and Mr. George reprovved from the chair, and declared "disqualified, for the present, for the office of superintendent."

In all these proceedings the decisions of the Conference were almost entirely unanimous. It may be hazardous in us, with our imperfect knowledge of the circumstances of each case—for it is plain that much more was known to the Conference, or at least *believed* by it, than appears in the printed reports—to express any opinion whatever upon so unhappy an affair. On the presumption that the brethren who have suffered were really concerned in so base and dastardly a procedure as the concoction and publication of a series of coolly prepared and *anonymous* slanders upon the leaders of Wesleyan Methodism, we have no sympathy to expend upon *them*. Such movements, if not un-English, (to use a favourite phrase of our trans-Atlantic friends,) are most certainly un-American, and as certainly un-Christian. Warfare, even severe and cruel, has its possible palliations; but for assassination there can be none. That good men might be driven to resort to unusual measures under such provocation, and especially when unusual measures were the only ones that would or could restore peace and bring back lost confidence, is not much to be wondered at. But, on the other hand, that men should be required either to criminate or to clear themselves by their own assertion, in the absence of charges, is so utterly foreign to our own modes of procedure in courts, either civil or ecclesiastical, that we cannot help an involuntary shudder, and ask whether it might not have

been better, in the long run, to endure the wrong than so to right it. Certainly no American Conference would venture upon such a course. Yet the British Conference is *not* an American Conference; and we cannot judge its action by our own notions and usages. With us, such a course would be illegal and unconstitutional; with them, it was fully covered by the law or declaration of 1835—a declaration by which every minister in the Connexion was bound. The expelled ministers and their friends make it their chief ground of complaint, that the Conference did what a *law court* would not do, in requiring the parties concerned to criminate themselves. But, it strikes us, the analogy does not hold. The State courts can *command* witnesses; the Church cannot. Violations of the moral law, which do not affect society, are not noticed by the State: they must be by the Church. A Church Court is more analogous to a Court of Equity, where a reply must be made to a declaration of facts *on oath*, than to a court of Law. And, what is most weighty of all, in a Criminal Court the prisoner's plea of "Not Guilty" *does not purge him*; in the Wesleyan Conference, that plea, alone, would have been equivalent to acquittal.

We cannot refrain from expressing our surprise, that in *England* a Methodist Conference should find it necessary to sit with closed doors, (except when character is in question,) and to exclude reporters for the press. Year after year we have looked for some rational explanation of this necessity, but we have looked in vain. Nor can we reconcile to our notions of propriety the frequent expressions of applause and censure, in the form of cheers and clamours, which are, it appears, fully allowed in the Conference. In worse taste still must we deem the habit of interrupting and putting down an obnoxious speaker. *Here*, the very fact that a man was in a hopeless minority, or that he was under suspicion, still more under *trial*, would ensure him the most uninterrupted attention. He might say almost what he pleased, subject only to arrests for violation of the known rules of order, by which deliberative bodies are governed in both hemispheres. Will some of our English brethren explain these things to us?

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—We extract the following Summaries from the Report for 1848-49:—*Missionaries*: In Ireland, 24; Continent of Europe, 21; Western Africa, 18; South Africa, 38; South India, 20; North Ceylon, 7; South Ceylon,

12; New South Wales, 11; Australia, 8; Van Diemen's Land, 5; New-Zealand, 20; Friendly Islands, 10; Feejee Islands, 8; Demerara, 21; Honduras, 2; West Indies, 63; British America, 98: *Total*, 386, besides 9 supernumeraries; of whom 220 are principally connected with the Heathen, Negroes, and converts from Heathenism, and 166 labour among Europeans and British Colonists. *Assistants*: These Missionaries are assisted by 742 paid Catechists and Readers, and 7242 gratuitous Sunday-school and other Teachers; of whom 615 paid, and 4603 gratuitous Teachers are connected with the Heathen and Negroes; and 127 paid, and 2639 gratuitous Teachers labour among Colonists or professed Christians.

Members in Society:—In Ireland, 2485; Continent of Europe, 1829; Gambia, 292; Sierra Leone, 4354; Cape Coast, 879; South Africa, 4135; South India, 377; North Ceylon, 325; South Ceylon, 1171; New South Wales, 1859; Australia, 1075; Van Diemen's Land, 563; New-Zealand, 4076; Friendly Islands, 7166; Feejee Islands, 1730; Demerara, 14,001; Honduras, 460; West Indies, 37,625; British America, 15,829: *Total*, 100,231; of whom 76,593 are chiefly among the Heathen, and 23,638 among Colonists and professed Christians.

Scholars:—In Ireland, 3834; Continent of Europe, 1637; Gambia, 354; Sierra Leone, 2525; Cape Coast, 1119; South Africa, 6858; South India, 1851; North Ceylon, 1802; South Ceylon, 2268; New South Wales, 2994; Australia, 1657; Van Diemen's Land, 992; New-Zealand, 6804; Friendly Islands, 8206; Feejee Islands, 2064; Demerara, 5008; Honduras, 250; West Indies, 13,101; British America, 10,994: *Total*, 74,318; being a decrease of 262; and consisting of 52,210 chiefly among the Heathen and Negroes, and 22,108 among Colonists and professed Christians.

Missionaries sent out in 1848-49.—To *Sierra Leone*, Mr. Garry; *Gambia*, Mr. and Mrs. Badger, and Mrs. Lynn; *Gold Coast*, Mr. Allen, Mr. Frederick Hart; *South Africa*, Mr. and Mrs. Parsonson; *Madras*, Miss Knaggs; *New-Zealand*, Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher, and Mr. and Mrs. Reid; *West Indies*, Mr. and Mrs. Ellison, and Mr. and Mrs. English; *Newfoundland*, Mr. and Mrs. Brettell.

Missionaries returned to Foreign Service.—Of those above enumerated, Messrs. Allen, Badger, English, and Parsonson, who have been before honourably and usefully employed in various Missions, but had returned home for a season, have again been appointed to the Foreign Work.

Deceased Missionaries.—In *France*, Mr. Le Bas; *Sierra Leone*, Mr. Purslow; *Gambia*, Mr. Lean; *Feejee Islands*, Mr. Hunt; *West Indies*, Mr. M'Bryon; *British America*, Mr. Bamford. To this affecting record must be added that of two excellent females, wives of Missionaries, who have also exchanged mortality for life.

State of the Funds.—Receipts of the year.

	£.	s.	d.
Contributions paid at the Mission-House	2,439	3	3
Auxiliary Societies	71,889	4	10
From Ireland	4,767	4	6
From Foreign Districts and Stations	11,882	18	7
Legacies	1,854	0	4
Government Grants	4,802	6	2
Dividends	1,122	19	6
Donation on Annuity for Life	590	0	0
For Schools in Ireland	100	0	0
Interest on a Grant from the Centenary Fund for retired Missionaries, Widows, and Orphans	450	0	0
Juvenile Christmas Offering	4,079	2	5
Donations for China	150	0	0

Total £104,126 19 7

Payments of the Year:—

<i>Missions</i> —			
Irish	4,763	14	6
German	80	0	0
French	4,476	8	9
Spanish	898	10	2
Western Africa	10,762	16	2
South Africa	12,452	8	5
South India	6,002	13	2
<i>Ceylon</i> —			
Tamul	2,196	9	8
Singhalese	3,688	11	7
Australia	1,705	4	6
Van Diemen's Land	549	18	0
New-Zealand	7,686	18	10
Friendly Islands	3,046	16	1
Feejee Islands	3,119	11	4
Demarara	810	13	3
Honduras	608	6	2
West Indies	14,302	12	3
British America	11,633	19	3
Returned Missionaries	630	0	0
Education of Children of Missionaries	2,595	16	6
Grants to Widows and Orphans	1,749	3	0
Expenses in England of Missionaries sick or on leave	1,237	16	11
Medical Expenses	91	6	10
Students in the Theological Institution	1,100	8	0
Stock to cover Annuities on Donations	590	0	0
Annuities on Donations	1,147	8	2
Interest and Discount	2,335	15	9
Publications	5,780	6	10
Salaries, Books, Rent, Repairs, House Expenses, Postage, Carriage, and Sundries	3,798	15	2
Annual Appropriation for Training a Native Agency	1,500	0	0
China Fund, Invested	150	0	0

Total £111,492 9 3

Remarks on the State of the Funds.—The Committee's anxiety is by no means limited abstractedly to the Society's pecuniary affairs; but from the relation which these

must ever bear, in the order of divine Providence, as a necessary and essential though subordinate means, to the great end we have in view, the Society's present financial position must be regarded with the most solemn and religious concern.

Total Income, received from	£.	s.	d.
all sources, for 1848 . . .	104,126	19	7
Expenditure for 1848 . . .	111,492	9	3

Excess of Expenditure over

Income, in 1848	7,365	9	8
Deficiency of 1847	5,993	6	5

Total Deficiency for 1847 and

1848	£13,358	16	1
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The Committee deem it right here to offer a few brief remarks on the Expenditure and on the Receipts of the year now reported.

Expenditure.—The cost of the Society's operations, as exhibited in this statement, being less than that of the previous year by £3,114 8s. 3d., has not been reduced to the amount now stated by any great or considerably restricted expenditure on the Foreign Stations, which, on the average, and in the aggregate, have required and received nearly the usual amount of support, but by a lessened outlay in the items of "outfits and passages" of Missionaries, in part occasioned by the kindness of some Christian ship-owners, among whom, the liberality of Mr. Cooper and his friends, of the Isle of Wight, is here most respectfully and gratefully recorded, in the gift of FREE PASSAGES for Missionaries; but chiefly, because the Committee have found themselves under the painful necessity of refusing to send out any STRICTLY ADDITIONAL Missionaries during the year, and even of delaying to supply many vacancies occasioned by sickness and death, until the requisite funds should be placed at their command.

Receipts.—The income of the year from all sources, both regular and contingent, and Home and Foreign, has been £104,126 19s. 7d. The Committee contemplate with gratitude to the Author of all grace the large amount of Christian love, liberality, self-denial, and missionary zeal, to which expression and form have been given in the contributions and labours called forth for the accumulation of so gratifying a total, during a year of great commercial depression and monetary embarrassment. But it becomes their duty to repeat distinctly and emphatically, that, even with this somewhat improved income, they are left under a debt for 1847 and 1848 amounting to £13,358 16s. 1d., and with the prospect of an INCREASE of that debt during the current year, which can be avoided only, either by a most deplorable restriction of the Society's operations in continuance of the restrictions of last year, and in addition to them, or, as the most desirable alternative, a very large addition to the ordinary Home Receipts of the Society.

PRIMITIVE METHODIST CONNEXION.—

"The thirtieth Annual Conference of this section of the Christian Church, commenced its sittings in Sunderland, on Wednesday, June 6th, 1849. The Connexion is reported to be in a prosperous state. There are 95,557 members, 513 travelling preachers, 8,291 local preachers, 5,679 class-leaders, 1,511 connexional chapels, 3,345 rented chapels, &c., 1,194 Sunday-schools, 94,876 scholars, and 18,169 gratuitous teachers. The increase for the present year is reported to be 6,166 members, 235 local preachers, 157 class-leaders, 38 connexional chapels, 58 Sunday-schools, 7,603 scholars, and 1,700 gratuitous teachers."

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—We alluded in our April number to the case of the Rev. Mr. Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter. The decision of the Arches Court, in reference to the question whether Baptismal Regeneration is, or is not, the doctrine of the Church of England, has now been made, and the result is, that the highest Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court, Sir H. J. Fust, has decided that any minister of the Church of England who denies the doctrine is legally disqualified to hold any preferment in that Church! This, we say, is the substantial result; and it places the so-called Evangelical Clergy of the Church of England in a most painful and anomalous position. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, several of the Bishops, and even the Queen herself, are, in effect, *unchurched* by this decision given by a lay Judge. The decision was given on the 2d of August, and an appeal at once taken to the Privy Council. Should the decision be confirmed, as in all probability it will, the spirit and firmness of the Evangelical Clergy will be put to the test. They must choose whether they will "obey God rather than man." The *Record*, which is the organ of the Evangelicals, speaks thus on the 23d of August:—

"It is to be hoped that those who have ready access to men in high office, will give them faithful warning of the peril, for the future, and actual injury, at the present moment, arising to the Church out of the recent judgment of Sir H. J. Fust. Even were the reversal of that judgment matter of certainty, it is no slight loss that the Church is suffering now, in the paralyzing effects of a state of doubt and alarm, on all her wide-spread machinery of Christian benevolence. Various plans, as we well know, for raising churches, schools, &c., which were in the most hopeful circumstances a month since, are now languishing. Liberal contributors ask, What is the Church going to do? What

is the Church going to be? Where will these things end? Into whose hands will these churches and schools fall? And until such questions can be satisfactorily answered, they *postpone*, at least, giving such aid as in times past they have been used to give. We do not discuss at present the reasonableness of such apprehensions; we only speak to the fact. This, we know, is the present state of things. As for the result of what we trust is not probable,—a confirmation of Sir H. J. Fust's judgment,—it would probably be, in the same way, still more injurious. It would shake the confidence of the laity, and loosen their affections, and relax their efforts. Of other and still greater perils we do not now speak. But should any such decision be given, all plans for *extending the Church* would be likely to be received with coolness, if not absolutely repelled, by a large proportion of the most liberal of our laity. This, of itself, would be no trifling evil. Those in stations of influence will, however, look still further than this. With the lamentable experience of Scotland before their eyes, they will be warned that even to the length of secession men will go, when once they have persuaded themselves that conscience prescribes such a course. And how the Church of England could bear such a trial as has come upon the Church of Scotland, no man can say. But he would be a rash statesman who would run the risk of trying it." The sentiments of the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK were fully given in his Charge given at his primary visitation at Thirsk, on June 4th, in which he used the following language:—"One of the important questions now occupying a large share of attention in the Church was that of Baptism. On the subject of adult baptism, little difference of opinion prevailed; but on infant baptism a great deal of discussion was taking place. This much, however, was quite clear, that the compilers of the services, both in the sixth of Edward and also in that of Queen Elizabeth, held the peculiar doctrines of Calvin, almost without exception, on the doctrines of election, predestination, and final perseverance. Hence they taught and believed, that spiritual regeneration in baptism could only be partaken of by the elect, and all men were not elected, and thus they could not be supposed as believing it to be received by all, nor could frame it to convey such a meaning, unless with the gross dishonesty practised by some parties now, who teach one doctrine, and at the same time believe another. No such hypocrisy was theirs; they did not believe it to be, and you are not called upon to take it as a rule of the Church, that all who are baptized are spiritually regenerated. No such doctrine is taught by the Articles, and you are not to force upon them a construction they will not admit. Our Reformers took the doctrines as they found them in the Scriptures on infant baptism; they neither added to them, nor diminished from

them. In the case of adults they restricted the benefits of baptism to the worthy reception, and left it open in infants; but different from, and exclusive of, the *ex operato* of the Church of Rome. The service is in the language of Martin Luther, and the words are intended only to be expressive of hope and charity. Some parties contend that they left the language so open as to be capable of either interpretation, but no such feelings actuated the Reformers, and they were incapable of stating it in that manner, and we must express it as the Reformers did. Both the sacraments must be received as means of grace—the one as an admission to the privileges and blessings of the visible Church, and the other as a mark of union and continuance to it."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY has not yet spoken out, though his sentiments are well known. But he has presented the Rev. W. Goode, the Bishop of Exeter's literary antagonist, to the rectory of Allhallows, in London, in significant testimony, it is thought, of his dissent from the recent decision of the Arches Court. Mr. Goode has recently written a new work upon the subject, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Church of England as to the Effects of Baptism in the case of Infants," in which he argues the subject, it is said, in a lucid and masterly way.

BAPTIST NOEL.—The Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel has connected himself with the Baptist Church. He was baptized on the 9th of August, in the John-street chapel, in the immediate neighbourhood of the church in which he had preached as a minister of the Church of England for more than twenty years. The house was crowded to its utmost capacity. He delivered an address on the occasion, from which we extract the following:—

"I will not speak of the convictions of others, but I speak of the conviction of my own mind, after very much examination. It appears to me to be distinctly proved, first, that baptism, as ordained by Christ, is an immersion in water, a being buried in the water; and, secondly, that immersion is meant to be a profession of faith in Christ. If those two conclusions are correct, (and I believe they will completely prevail with the Christian world eventually,) then it follows that a person who, like myself, has only been sprinkled in infancy, is unbaptized; because such a person has neither been immersed, nor has he made a baptismal profession of faith; and these two things constitute Christian baptism. So that, if these conclusions are correct, then I, and others, who have been only sprinkled in infancy, are in neither sense baptized. Should we, then, after having professed our faith in Christ at the Lord's table, at many times, come to this, which is the initiatory rite of Christianity, and begin again a profession of faith

in him? This has been so clearly seen by the churches of Christ in general, that it is not only those which are called Baptist Churches, but all the Churches, who refuse to admit to the Lord's Supper, or into church-membership, any whom they consider to be unbaptized. If a man—for instance, one of the Society of Friends—has been a consistent Christian for years, has followed the Lord diligently and zealously, has done good by his pen and by his preaching, and is welcomed by all persons, who rejoice in seeing the work of the Spirit, as a thorough Christian,—if that person should come to recognize that the sacraments are obligatory, and that he should come to the table of the

Lord, there is no Church that would receive him unbaptized. Neither the Roman Catholic, nor the Anglican, nor the Presbyterian, nor the Independent Churches, would receive such a one, unbaptized. And, therefore, the fact of his having made a profession of faith in other ways, has not appeared to any of the Churches of Christ as a reason why an unbaptized person should not, at any point in his heavenward course, be baptized, when he comes to recognize his error."

The chapel so long held by Rev. T. Mortimer has been purchased for Mr. Noel's use, and he will soon commence his regular ministry in it as a Baptist preacher.

Italy.

THE French find themselves unable to prevent the absolutist reaction at Rome. "Pius IX. appears to be more and more influenced by retrograde counsellors. He has named a commission of Government, composed of Cardinals *Della Genga, Vannicelli*, and *Altieri*, to whom the Romans feel profound aversion. All their liberties are suppressed. The Inquisition has resumed its functions. The most moderate and most respectable journals of Florence and of Turin can no longer pass the frontier of the pontifical States. The best citizens are imprisoned or exiled. There is no longer the question of the *Statute*, nor of any of the institutions which were established by the Pope himself. In one word, it is despotism which reappears—the hideous despotism of Gregory XVI.—the most odious tyranny now existing in Europe." The French Government is pledged, through M. de Tocqueville, and indeed by Louis Napoleon himself, in his letter to M. Ney, to procure some degree, at least, of constitutional freedom for the Romans. Whether this pledge was given in good faith, and will ever be redeemed, remains yet to be seen.—One of the first victims of the Inquisition was, as our readers have already learned

from the daily papers, Dr. *Giacinto Achilli*, a Protestant of above five years' standing. "Formerly Vicar of the Master of the Holy Palace, under Gregory XVI., Professor of Theology and Professor of Moral Philosophy at the College of the Minerva; he subsequently became a Protestant, and is well known, both in England and in many other parts of Europe, as one who, from conscientious motives, had quitted the Roman Catholic Church. He exercised the right which the *de facto* constitution of Rome gave him to take up his residence there, and to labour in the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures, and in the propagation of his principles among those who were disposed to hear him." He is confined in the Castle of St. Angelo, a prison for political offenders: and though, in a letter, dated July 12th, he says, "*I have never mixed myself up in political affairs, much less shall I do so now; my mission is too innocent to cause me any fear till the return of the Pope,*" it is greatly to be feared that the vengeance of the Papal power will wreak itself upon his head, under the pretext that he has committed political offences. Steps have been taken in his behalf, by friendly parties in England and France, but with what results is not yet known.

Home.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The 40th Anniversary of the A. B. C. F. M. was held at Pittsfield, Mass., on Tuesday, Sept. 11, and was very largely attended. The interest of the occasion was greatly increased by the fact that an unusual number of returned missionaries was present, among whom were Messrs. Dwight, Van Lennep, and Bliss, of the Armenian Mission; Mr. Thompson, from the Syrian

Mission; Mr. Poor, from Ceylon, and several others. During the year 12 missionaries, 6 male and 22 female assistant missionaries, making in all forty persons, have been sent to different missions under the care of the Board:—viz., 2 to Madras, 2 to Madura, 6 to Ceylon, 8 to South Africa, 2 to the Sandwich Islands, 3 to Syria, 4 to Salonica, 2 to the Armenians in Broosa, 3 to the Nestorians of Persia, 4 to the Choctaws, 2 to the

Sioux, and 2 to the Ojibwas. The usual editions of the Annual Report and of the Annual Sermon have been printed and distributed. The monthly issue of the *Missionary Herald* has been 17,800; and that of the *Dayspring* over 40,000. There have been published also a new edition of Tract No. 5, a revised edition of the *Missionary Manual*, and a second edition of the *Narrative of the Revival of Religion among the Nestorians of Persia*. It is proposed to publish the *Dayspring* in a small pamphlet form, adapted, in its character, to juvenile readers; and to issue a larger sheet, to be called the "*JOURNAL OF MISSIONS*," designed for the adult portion of the community. This matter is so far matured, that a specimen number of the "*Journal of Missions*" was distributed at the meeting. The receipts of the Board for the year ending the 31st of July last, were, from all sources, \$291,705 27; while the expenditures for the same period were \$263,418 47; the receipts being greater than the expenditures by \$28,286 80. The debt of the Board on the 1st of August, last year, was \$59,890 78; from which if we deduct the excess of receipts above expenditures for the year just ended, we have a remainder of

\$31,603 98, which is the amount of the present indebtedness of the Board. Of the \$291,705 27, received during the financial year, \$44,050 15 were contributed toward the payment of the debt of the previous year, thus reducing it to \$15,840 63. It will be observed, however, that the receipts, irrespective of the debt, were \$247,655 12, which is \$15,763 35 less than the unavoidable expenditures. This deficiency, added to what remains of the debt of the last year, makes the present indebtedness of the Board, as stated above, \$31,603 98. The Committee hope that this debt will, by the close of another year, be either entirely liquidated or greatly diminished. The grant of the American Bible Society for the year was \$2,500; that from the American Tract Society, \$6,300. The want of labourers is severely felt. On this point the Prudential Committee say, "that the Board is suddenly in danger of being arrested, if not turned back, by a want of qualified and ready agents. Thirty-eight missionaries are now needed, and at the most only five can be relied on to supply this pressing want, and no prospect appears of any material relief for years to come."

ART. XII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

WE have to record the death of *Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette*, one of the most eminent and distinguished theologians and philosophers of Germany. In our April number (page 339) we noticed the final volume of his *Compendious Commentary on the New Testament*, and translated a passage from his preface, going to show (what was known from other sources) that a great change had passed over his mind in the course of time,—that though still far from orthodoxy, he was no longer the reckless rationalist of thirty years ago. Born on the 17th of January, 1780, at Ulla, near Weimar, he was in his 70th year when he died at midsummer, 1849. After studying at Jena, he became Professor Extraordinary of Theology there in 1807; was transferred to Heidelberg as Professor of Theology, in 1809; and to Berlin, for the same chair, in 1810. In 1819 he was dismissed, having incurred the anger

of the government by a letter to the mother of Sand. In 1821 he obtained the Professorship of Theology in the University of Basle, and held it up to his death.

We have received from the author a copy of a very remarkable book,—being no less than an anti-Calvinistic "*Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans*," by JAMES MORISON." (Kilmarnock, 1849: 8vo., pp. 569.) The work has arrived at too late a period for an extended notice, so that we must content ourselves now with briefly indicating its character and scope. We know nothing personally of Mr. Morison, but gather from his Preface that he is a minister in Kilmarnock: though it puzzles us to imagine how, holding such doctrines, he can be connected with either the Established or the Free Church; and we know of no such name in the Wesleyan ranks. But what is far more to the purpose, it is clear that he is an

earnest man, seeking for the truth most faithfully, and sparing no labour or pains in his work. The present volume is almost an encyclopædia of information in regard to the exegesis of the ninth chapter of Romans. In the copious Prolegomena (seventy-five pages) we have critical accounts of nineteen distinct anti-Calvinistic expositions of the chapter, with brief biographical sketches of their authors, forming a very acceptable addition to the literature of the subject. The body of the commentary (426 pp.) consists of eleven expository Lectures;—a form adapted, says Mr. Morison in his Preface, “for use and usefulness, even to those who are ignorant of the learned languages.” But for the sake of more learned readers there is a large body of critical and exegetical notes, in which the language of the apostle is often scrutinized, not merely sentence by sentence, but word by word. Three Appendices follow,—I. Showing that Romans IX, 6–13, is not to be interpreted allegorically:—II. That Romans IX is not to be interpreted throughout upon an allegorical principle:—III. That it is every man’s duty to become one of the elect of God. As we have said, the work is laboriously and faithfully executed—but it is marred by prolixity, excessive minuteness, and frequent Scotticisms of style. We cannot, by any means, endorse all of Mr. Morison’s interpretations, but yet deem his work a most valuable contribution to theological literature, and shall seek to recur to it again more at length hereafter.

A convenient catalogue for the use of theological students and book collectors is proposed by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, in Gottingen, entitled “*Bibliotheca Theologica, oder geordnete übersicht aller auf dem Gebiet der Evangelischen Theologie erschienenen Bücher.*” The first issue contains a list of works in Evangelical Theology for 1848, systematically arranged, and furnished with an alphabetical Index. The catalogue can be had on application to Mr. R. Garrigue, New-York.

The Apostles’ Creed is an object of special attention just now in this country. A full treatise on the subject from the Roman Catholic side has lately appeared, namely, “*De Symboli Apostolici Titulo, Origine et Antiquissimis Ecclesiæ temporibus auctoritate; dissertationem theologiam scripsit, PET. MEYERS.* Cath. Relig. Doct. in Gymnas. Trevir. Prof.” (Treviris, 1849, 8vo., pp. 210.) It attempts to show that the creed is really, and in form, of apostolic origin, with the exception of the two articles *descendit* [Christus] *ad inferos*,

and *Communione Sanctorum*; the former of which, it argues, was added in view of the Apollinarian heresy, the latter by Pope Gelasius, or Gregory the Great.

Rev. W. Cooke, whose lectures on Christian Theology were noticed in a recent number of this Journal, has since published a work entitled “*Theiotes; or, an Argument on the Existence, Perfections, and Personal Distinctions of the Deity, intended as an Antidote to Atheism, Pantheism, Unitarianism, and Sabellianism.*” (London, Partridge & Oakey, 1849.)

Wieseler’s excellent work on the Chronology of the Apostolical Age, up to the deaths of the apostles Peter and Paul, is to be translated by Rev. Thomas Gordon.

We are glad to see announced among the recent publications of the Methodist Book Room, London,—“*The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M. A., to which are appended Selections from his Correspondence and Poetry, with an Introduction and occasional Notes, by Thomas Jackson, 2 vols. 12mo.*”

We continue our statements of the contents and tendencies of the principal European theological journals.

The Biblical Review (July, 1849, London, Jackson & Walford, pp. 150, three shillings sterling) always contains able articles on German theology, or translations from German sources. The contents of the July number are,—I. The last Ten Years in German Theology, (mainly translated from the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*):—II. Remarks on Ephesians iv, 12–16:—III. On the Theology of Pascal’s *Pensées*:—IV. A very interesting sketch of the Person and History of Neander, with a translation of his oration on the three hundredth Anniversary of Luther’s birth-day:—V. The Demands of the Age upon Theology:—VI. Is the Bible from God:—VII. Select Letters from Schleiermacher to Sack:—VIII. Montgomery’s Christian Life:—IX. Miscellanies and correspondence.

The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for July, contains an unusually valuable list of articles. Art. I. is a review of Julius Müller’s *Lehre von der Sünde*, by De Wette, whose death (mentioned in another page) took place only a few days before the publication of this article. In it he attempts to rescue his own view of the nature of sin (the so-called *sensual* theory) from the overwhelming blows which Müller had aimed against it. Art. II. is on the “*Testimony of the Fourth Evangelist to his own person,*” by K. L. Weit-

zel, of Krichheim. Art. III. "Studies and Criticisms in New Testament Lexicography," by Professor Gelpke, of Bern. Art. IV. "Exegetical Discussions," by Bähr, of Carlsruhe, on Mark ix, 49, 50. Art. V. "The Holiness of God," by J. M. Rupprecht. Art. VI. Review of two works on the Church system of festival days, &c. Art. VII. Notice of Muralto's *Novum Testamentum Græce*. Art. VIII. "The Church of Norway," concluded from a preceding number.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July (London, C. Cox, five shillings a number) contains the following articles:—I. The Scriptural Doctrine of Demoniack Possession, by W. E. Taylor:—II. A Review of Winer's *Bible Lexicon*:—III. Christianity in Harmony with our Faculties, from the French of A. Coquerel:—IV. Recollections of the East, illustrative of certain passages in the Historical Books of the Old Testament:—V. Morell's *Philosophy of Religion*:—VI. The Golden Calf, translated from Saurin:—VII. Paul's Rebuke of Women praying with uncovered heads:—VIII. Character of Eustathius considered as a Reformer, from the German of Neander:—IX. Is Biblical Criticism unfavourable to Piety?—X. On the Interpretation of Genesis iv, 7, by Rev. J. W. Donaldson, D. D.:—XI. Miscellanea and Correspondence.—Among the Correspondence is a letter from Dr. Lee, replying to Prof. Ewald's charges against him, and renewing his accusation of plagiarism against Prof. Ewald.

The *Christian Remembrancer*, for July, (London: Mozley, six shillings a number,) contains the following articles:—I. The Lost Writings of Antiquity—the Remains of Ste-sichorus:—II. Taylor's Poems:—III. Rationalism—Reviews of Morell's "Philosophy of Religion," and Newman's "Nemeses of Faith":—IV. Warburton's Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers:—V. The Church in Greece, [*i. e.* the *Greek Church*]:—VI. Allies' Journal in France in 1845 and 1848, (a review, more than half sympathizing with Allies' sentimental Romanizing):—VII. Poole and Freeman on the History of Architecture:—VIII. Geology and Revelation.

The following works in Theology and Biblical Literature are announced as just published or in press in London:—

The *Work of the Spirit*, by Wm. Henry Stowell, of Rotherham College, Yorkshire, 1 vol. 8vo., forming the 14th Series of the Congregational Lecture:—A Memoir of Rev. Thomas Burchell, twenty-two years missionary in Jamaica, compiled from his Letters

and Diary, by his brother, the Rev. W. F. Burchell, 1 vol. 12mo., with portrait:—Experimental Evidence a Ground for Assurance that Christianity is Divine, by the Rev. Gilbert Wardlaw, A. M., formerly Resident Theological Tutor of the Independent College, Blackburn, Lancashire, 1 vol. small 8vo.:—A Literal Translation of the Gospel according to St. John, on Definite Rules of Translation, by Herman Heinfetter, Author of "Rules for ascertaining the Sense conveyed in Ancient Greek Manuscripts," Part I.:—On the Religious Ideas, by W. J. Fox, M. P., 1 vol., 8vo.:—Prophetic Outlines of the Christian Church and the Anti-Christian Power, as traced in the Visions of Daniel and St. John, by Ben. Harrison, M. A., Archdeacon of Maidstone, &c., 8vo.:—Popular Christianity; its Transition State and Probable Development, by Frederick J. Foxton, A. B., formerly of Pembroke College, Oxford, post 8vo.:—Jonah; his Life, Character, and Mission, viewed in connexion with the Prophet's own Times, and Future Manifestations of God's Mind and Will in Prophecy, by the Rev Patrick Fairbairn, fcp., 8vo.:—An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy, in three books.—1. On the Covenants. 2. The Visions of Daniel. 3. The Revelation of St. John, by Samuel Lee, D. D., late Regius Professor of Hebrew, in 8vo., price 14s., cloth:—The Course of Creation, by John Anderson, D. D., M. W. S., Minister of Newburgh, Fife. Post 8vo.

Among the publications of the present year on the continent are the following:—

Biblia sacra vulgatæ editionis juxta exemplaria ex typographia apostolica Vaticana Romæ 1592 et 1593 inter se collata et ad normam correctionum romanarum exacta auctoritate summi pontificis Pii IX. Edid. Val. Loch, theol. Dr. u. Prof. IV Tomi (uno volum. compreh.) Ratisbonæ, 1849. 1486 pp., 8vo.

Der Brief Pauli an die Philipper. Praktisch erläutert durch Dr. Aug. Neander. Berlin, 110 pp., 8vo.

Die Gemeinde in Christo Jesu. Auslegung des Briefes an die Epheser. Von Dr. Rud. Stier. 2. Hälfte. 2. Abth. Berlin.

Commentar über die Briefe des Apostels Paulus an die Thessalonicher. Von Dr. Aug. Koch, Privatdoc. 1. Thl. Der erste Brief. Berlin, 1849. 456 pp. 8vo.

Histoire du Nouveau Testament et des Juifs, confirmée par l'histoire et par les sciences profanes, depuis l'incarnation de N. S. J. C. jusqu'à l'accomplissement de ses prophéties relatives à Jérusalem, ou à la de-

struction de cette ville et de la nation juive, par M. l'abbé A. F. James. Paris.

Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte des griech. Mittelalters. 2. Bd. A. u. d. T.: Die Mystik des Nikolaus Cabasilas vom Leben in Christo. Erste Ausg. u. einleit. Darstellung. Greifswald, 224, 240 pp., 8vo.

Das Wesen des Christenthums mit Beziehung auf neuere Auffassungsweisen desselben von Freunden und Gegnern. Eine Erörterung auch für gebildete Nicht-Theologen von Dr. C. Ullmann. 3. neu bearb. Auflage. Hamburg, Fr. Perthes. 1849. 176 pp., 8vo. Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Seitenstück und Ergänzung zu des Verfassers "Lehrbuch der heiligen Geschichte," von Joh. Heinr. Kurtz, Dr. d. Theol. Mitau, 1849. 348 pp. 8vo.

Thorath-Emeth. תורת אמת Der Penta-

teuch im Texte, mit einer ganz neuen treuen Uebersetzung und einer vollständ. Erklärung in hochdeutscher Sprache und Schrift. Für Lehrer und Schüler u. s. w.; mit einer Karte von Palästina und Karte von dem Zuge Israel's durch die Wüste. Herausgeg. von Dr. Heinemann. In 16 Lief. 1. u. 2. Lief. Berlin, 128, pp. 8vo. 1849.

Moïse révélateur, ou Exposition apologétique de la théologie du Pentateuque, par l'abbé Ch.-Marin André. Paris, 1849.

Interpretatio Epistolæ S. Pauli ad Philipenses, auctore Jo. Thd. Beelen. Lovanii, 136 pp., 4to.

De la Question Religieuse dans le Canton de Vaud, par L. Jottrand, (Mémor. couronné, Lausanne, 1849.)

The first volume, in 4to., Dr. of Lepsius' Chronologie der Ägypter, has appeared.

AMERICAN.

WE have received the first number of "*The Evangelical Review*," edited by Prof. Reynolds, of Pennsylvania College, assisted by Dr. Morris, Prof. Schmidt, and Rev. Messrs. Schaeffer and Greenwalt. This journal will hold the position of an organ for the higher literature of the Lutheran Church in the United States, and declares, at the outset, that it will be "Lutheran in the broadest and in the strictest sense of the term. It is consecrated especially to the interests, to the history, to the theology, to the literature of the Lutheran Church, in this and in all parts of the world." At the same time its editor distinctly declares that he "does not wish to be understood as occupying a hostile position towards any other part of Christendom." None who know Prof. Reynolds will doubt that under his care the Review will be at once catholic in its spirit, and elevated in its literary character. The first number affords an admirable specimen of what such a Review should be. Its contents are,—I. Introduction:—II. Theological Education in the Lutheran Church in the United States:—III. The Gospel in the Old Testament, from the German of Umbreit:—IV. A Review of Stier's Reden des Herrn Jesu, (Discourses of the Lord Jesus):—V. Luther's larger and smaller Catechisms:—VI. Chrysostom considered with Refer-

ence to training for the Pulpit:—VII. Remarks on the Study of Prophecy:—VIII. Schmid's Dogmatik of the Lutheran Church:—IX. Corporeal Punishment as a Means of Discipline in Schools:—X. Hymns from the German of Luther:—XI. Critical Notices.

It will be seen from our advertising sheet, that Messrs. Gladding & Higgins are preparing to publish a new engraving of the "Death-Bed of Rev. J. Wesley," after the celebrated painting of Marshall Claxton. It is to be executed, we are informed, in the finest style of art, by J. Sartain, the well-known and eminent mezzotint engraver of Philadelphia. As it will be sold at one-sixth of the English price, and one-half the price of the English copies now offered for sale in this country, it will, doubtless, command a large sale. Few Methodist preachers, or Methodist families, will deny themselves the pleasure of possessing this beautiful memorial of so striking a scene, when it can be procured at so small an expense.

Hooker & Co. have reprinted Wilberforce's *Doctrine of the Incarnation*,—noticed in our January number.

The third volume of Neander's Church History (Professor Torrey's translation) is announced as in press, and shortly to appear.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

THE veteran philologist, Dr. C. G. Zumpt, Professor of Latin Literature in the University of Berlin, died on the 25th of July, at

Carlsbad, whither he had gone in search of health. Dr. Zumpt's long and faithful labours in Latin Literature, and especially his

able Latin Grammar, which, though now somewhat obsolete, led the way to the present more philosophical mode of treating the subject, have entitled him to the respect of all lovers of learning. If we can obtain the material, we shall give a fuller account of his life and labours.

We have received a copy of "*Friderici Jacobsii Laudatio, Scripsit E. F. Wuestemann*:"—a beautiful memorial of one of the brightest lights of modern learning.

Krüger's Greek Grammar is now completed (with the exception of Indexes, which we hope will be forthcoming) by the publication of his "*Homerische Formenlehre*," (12mo., pp. 77,) which is marked by the same exhaustive completeness and accuracy which characterize his other works. He has in press a Lexicon to Xenophon's *Anabasis*; and states his purpose also to issue French and English translations of his Greek Grammar, as well as of his editions of Thucydides and Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

SIR JAMES STEPHEN, whose literary reputation rests upon his graphic and Macaulay-like articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, has been appointed Professor of Modern History in the University of Edinburgh. His articles in the *Edinburgh Review* have recently been collected into two handsome 8vo. volumes, entitled "*Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*," published by Longmans, London. The subjects are—Hildebrand, St. Francis of Assisi, The Founders of Jesuitism, Luther, The French Benedictines, The Port-Royalists, Baxter, Whitefield and the Evangelicals, Wilberforce, The Clapham Sect, and The Historian of Enthusiasm. Large additions and alterations are made to most of the articles. An eloquent Epilogue concludes the series, and gives a sort of Confession of Faith, on the part of the author, as a ground for the comprehensive range he has taken over all sects and sorts of religionists in forming his Hagiology. We regret to see from this Epilogue that Sir James stands on the same platform with John Foster, in regard to the eternity of future punishment.

We have received the Prospectus of a series of Atlases, five in number, published by Justus Perthes, Gotha, and prepared by Von Sydow, and beautifully coloured. A strong recommendation from Carl Ritter accompanies the prospectus.

Rev. J. E. Riddle's "*Copious and Critical Latin English Lexicon*" has appeared. It makes a thick volume in small 4to., uniform with Liddell & Scott's *Lexicon*. We have

taken the pains to compare it with the "*New Latin Lexicon on the basis of Freund*," now preparing by Prof. Andrews for publication by the Messrs. Harper of this city; and are glad to inform our readers that the latter will be an incomparably superior work, both in extent and execution. Riddle's *Lexicon* is founded upon the *abridged* edition of Freund, while Andrews' is translated from the *larger Lexicon*—the most complete Latin Dictionary that has ever appeared.

We extract from the *Athenæum* the following curious account of an order recently issued by the commander-in-chief of the British army, stating the literary (!) requirements of the candidates for commissions in the army. What floods of British sarcasm would have been provoked by such an order from the American War-office!

"It is now gravely demanded of the candidate who shall seek to be recommended as fit to bear Her Majesty's commission, that he shall not be below the status of the school-boy. First, it is propounded that he 'should be able to read and write!' In arithmetic 'he *should* be acquainted with the first four rules,' &c.,—in languages 'he *should* be able to translate some Latin author into English.' The italics marking the conditional character of these demands are ours. But 'he will be required,'—the conditional is now abandoned—to construe an extract from a French work into English.' In regard to history, 'he *should*'—again the conditional—'have read *Hume's History of England*, with *Smollett's Continuation*, a history of Rome and Greece, (!) and history of Modern Europe.' In the department of geography, he must know the names of the capitals of each nation in Europe; and the chief rivers, sea-ports, and military posts in Great Britain and Ireland. He must also have 'read some easy work' on fortifications, and have had some 'instruction in drawing.' This is the amount of raised qualification for wearing the scarlet. The soldier is yet but a little way removed intellectually, it would seem, from those good old times when reading and writing were treason; when gentlemen left such arts to their menials, and barons bold were content to sign with their cross! We have made, we see, one omission, which is worth noting, as a comment on scales of education at the Horse Guards. 'If not master of the Latin grammar, and he *should not have received a good classical education*, (!) says one of these ordinances, he must, in lieu thereof, thoroughly understand the French or German grammar. We do not know what grammar is meant by the French or German; and we should have thought that 'having received a good classical education' included being 'master of the Latin grammar.' Need we wonder that a Board which sends out an 'order' like this, should think it no light thing to be able to

'read and write correctly?' Appended to the instruction is a list of school-books: not a list of works which *must* be read, but which 'are said to be likely to facilitate the studies of candidates,' if candidates should think proper to look into them."

Among books in Classical literature recently issued in England, are the following:—Aristophanis Acharnenses, recens. F. H. Blaydes, 8vo., cloth:—Barnes, Anglo-Saxon Delectus, 12mo., cloth:—Livy, the First Eight Books; literally translated by D. Spillan, (Bohn's Classical Library):—Ovid's Fasti, with Notes by Rev. Charles Stanford, A.M., (New Edition):—Plato's Works, Vol. II., literally translated by Carey and Davis, (Bohn's Classical Library):—Plato's Apology of Socrates, Crito, and Phædo, from the Text of Bekker, with Notes by C. S. Stanford, A.M.:—Smith's Chronological Tables of Greek and Roman History, Civil and Literary, with Tables of Greek and Roman Measures, Weights, and Money, (from the Dictionaries of "Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology" and "Antiquities"):—Sophocles' Œdipus Tyrannus; translated by Sir Francis H. Doyle. Oxford.

Among the books on Ancient literature recently issued on the Continent, are the following:—Aristotelis Metaphysica, recognovit et enarravit H. Bonitz, 2 vols. 8vo., Bonn:—Basilicorum Libri LX., Edid. Dr. C. G. E. Heimbach, Vol. V., sect. 4. 4to. Lipsiæ:—Bionis et Moschi Carmina, Recensuit G. Hermann, 8vo.:—Bittner, de Ciceronianis et Ambrosianis Officiorum Libris Commentatio, Vratisl., 4to.:—Boetticher, P., Rudimenta Mythologiæ Semitiæ Supplementa Lexici Aramaici, 8vo., Berolini:—Dittmar, H., Die Geschichte der Griechischen Welt von ihrem Ursprung bis zu ihrer Berührung mit d. Römischen, 8vo., Heidelb.:—Gerhard, E., Ueber die Kunst der Phönicier, with 7 Steel Engravings, 4to., Berlin:—Gottfried Hermann, eine Gedächtnissrede von Otto Jahn, 8vo., Leipzig:—Hermann, K. F., Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur classischen Litteratur und Alterthumskunde, 8vo., Göttingen.

The following miscellaneous works are announced as recently published or in press in London:—

The Fourth and concluding Volume of Mr. James' Life and Times of Richard Cœur De Lion:—Report of the eighteenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Swansea in 1848, 8vo.:—The New Volume of Universal History on Scriptural Principles, vol. IV. The Middle Ages, from the Death of Richard I. to the Death of Richard II., 1199–1400 A. D.:—John Howard and the Prison-World of Europe, from original and authentic documents, by Hepworth Dixon, fcp. 8vo.:—Que-teleet on the Social System, edited, with an Introduction, by Prof. Nichol, F. R. S.:—A History of Rome under the Emperors, Book the First, "Julius Cæsar," by the Rev. Charles Merivale:—A Manual of Geographical Science; Mathematical, Physical, Historical, and Descriptive, by M. O'Brien, M. A., D. T. Ansted, F. R. S., and the Rev. C. G. Nicolay, with a Chapter on Cartography, by J. R. Jackson, F. R. S.:—Republican America and Western Europe, by J. P. Nichol, LL.D., containing the result of the Author's Observations during a recent Tour through the United States:—The Course of Creation, by John Anderson, D. D., M. W. S., Minister of Newburg, Fife:—Chapters on Fossil Botany, by S. R. Pattison, F. G. S.:—The Island of Cuba; its Resources, Progress, and Prospects considered, by R. R. Madden, M. R. I. A.:—The Second Series of a Course of Grecian, Roman, and English History, by the Rev. H. Le M. Chepmell, Royal Military College, Sandhurst:—Four Years in the Pacific, in her Majesty's Ship, the Collingwood, by the Hon. Frederick Walpole, Lieut. R. N., 2 vols. 8vo.:—Memoirs of the House of Orleans; including Sketches and Anecdotes of the most Distinguished Characters of France during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, by Dr. W. Cooke Taylor, 3 vols. 8vo., portraits, &c.:—Mrs. Foster's Hand-Book of Modern European Literature—British, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, and Russian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish; with copious Biographical and Chronological Index, fcp., 8vo.:—Baron Humboldt's new work—"Aspects of Nature," translated by Mrs. Sabine, 2 vols. 16mo.:—The Literature of the Kymry; being a Critical Essay on the History of the Language and Literature of Wales, during the Twelfth and two succeeding Centuries, by Thomas Stephens, 8vo.:—Sir James Mackintosh's Miscellaneous Works, including his Contributions to the Edinburgh Review, edited by R. J. Mackintosh, Esq., 3 vols. 8vo.

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. I.—46.

AMERICAN.

MR. RUDOLPH GARRIGUE, of this city, has commenced one of the most useful enterprises ever undertaken by a bookseller in this country, in the publication of the "*Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature, and Art; systematically arranged by G. HECK.*" With five hundred steel engravings, by the most distinguished artists of Germany. The text translated and edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, A. M., M. D., Professor of Natural Science in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa." The work is to be issued in twenty-five monthly parts, each containing twenty large quarto steel engravings, and upwards of eighty pages of letterpress. The plates are not merely got up to sell the book, but are *bona-fide* illustrations of the subjects treated in the text—engraved in Germany, at great expense, by excellent artists. After a careful examination, we concur fully with Dr. Cogswell's statement, *that they are executed with a degree of care and correctness rarely, if ever, seen in works intended for popular instruction.* The text is divided into ten branches, namely, Mathematics, 14 plates; Natural and Medical Sciences, 124 plates; General Geography, 40 plates; Ethnology, 89 plates; Military Sciences, 46 plates; Naval Sciences, 30 plates; Architecture, 54 plates; Mythology, and Religious Rites, 30 plates; Fine Arts, 30 plates; Technology, 46 plates. The work is translated and edited by Prof. Baird, who is well known to all naturalists, both in this country and in Europe, as among the foremost of the rising band of young cultivators of natural science, which is destined to shed so much glory on the intellectual character of the country. We know him well, and assure our readers that the work edited by him will not only be equal to the German original, but far superior, as it will be brought up, in each department, to the latest period of science, and will be enriched, especially in Prof. Baird's own favourite branch, natural history, by the results of his own extensive researches, as well as by those of other American naturalists. There can be no doubt of the eminent success of this enterprise. The book will be indispensable to the library of every man of any claims to literary or scientific culture.

We call the attention of our readers, especially of those who are interested in Philology or Theology, to the Catalogue of the Library of the late Rev. George W. Lane, A. M., Professor of Languages

in Emory College, Georgia; including a large Collection of Works in Theology, Biblical and Oriental Literature, Philology, (ancient and modern,) the Greek and Latin Classics, &c., containing the latest German works on these subjects, &c. The Collection is a very choice one, and offers a rare opportunity to those who wish to procure the best editions of the classics, and the most valuable works in German theology and philology. The prices affixed to the books are very low. The Catalogue can be had on application, post-paid, to the publishers of this journal.

Messrs. Muzzey & Co., Boston, have published a new edition of the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Æneid* of Virgil, edited, with Notes, &c., by Edward Moore, A. M.—The same publishers have also issued a third edition of the *Lectures on Modern History*, by Prof. Smith, of the University of Cambridge, Eng., with a list of books on American History.

The prices of Prof. Anthon's series of school and college classics have recently been very greatly reduced, as will be seen from Messrs. Harpers' advertisement at the end of our present number.

Munroe & Co., Boston, have lately issued *The Canton Chinese*; or, *the American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire*, by Osmond Tiffany, jr., of Baltimore.

Messrs. Harper & Brothers have in press,—M'Clintock's *Second Greek Book*, 12mo.:—An *Introduction to the Study of the English Language*, by Prof. W. C. Fowler, 8vo.:—Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, 8vo.:—*The War with Mexico*, by Major Ripley, U. S. A., 12mo.:—A *System of Phrenology*, by George Combe, 12mo.:—Anthon's *Ancient and Mediæval Geography*, 8vo.:—Wallis's *Travels in Spain*, 12mo.:—Wheeler's *History of Congress*, vol. III. 8vo.:—Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, new edition, 12mo.:—Griswold's *Biographical Dictionary*, royal 8vo.:—Copeland's *Medical Dictionary*, Part XIV.:—An *English-Latin Lexicon*, founded on the *German Latin Dictionary* of Dr. C. E. Georges, by the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M. A., and the Rev. J. K. Arnold, M. A.; revised, &c., by Dr. Anthon, royal 8vo.:—A *Latin-English Lexicon*, from the new German work of Dr. Freund, augmented with important Additions, by Prof. Andrews, 8vo.

Phillips, Sampson, & Co., Boston, have recently published,—Hume's *History of*

England, vols. 1, 2, & 3:—Lamartine's History of the French Revolution of 1848:—Shakspeare, royal 8vo., No. 1, to be followed by semi-monthly numbers until complete; each accompanied by a fine engraving.—They have in preparation,—Hume's England, vols. 4, 5, & 6, which will complete the work,—forming, with their edition of Macaulay, a continued History of England:—Life and Religion of Mohammed, translated from the Persian by Rev. J. L. Merrick, eleven years a missionary to the Persians:—A Discourse of Christianity, by Rev. Theodore Parker:—Representative Men, &c., by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, have recently published,—

Atlas of Plates to Dana on Zoophytes, being vol. ix of the Publications of the U. S. Exploring Expedition; large imperial folio, with 60 plates, coloured after nature:—Kennedy's Memoirs of the Life of Wm. Wirt, in two handsome 8vo. volumes, with a portrait on steel:—Weisbach's Principles of the Mechanics of Machinery and Engineering; translated by Prof. Gordon, and edited by Prof. W. R. Johnson, vol. 2, 8vo., with 332 engravings on wood:—Knapp's Technology, translated by Drs. Ronalds and Richardson, and edited by Prof. W. R. Johnson, vol. 2, 8vo., with 250 illustrations:—Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy, in one neat volume, small 8vo., with 6 plates and numerous woodcuts:—Q. Curtii Rufi de Gestis Alexandri Magni Libri qui supersunt VIII. Cura. L. Schmitz et C. G. Zumpt, royal 18mo., with a Map, Notes, Introduction, &c.—They have in preparation,—Graham's Elements of Chemistry, new and much improved edition, with many wood-cuts, large 8vo.:—Mackay's Western World, from the second London edition, 2 vols. 12mo.:—The Autobiography of Chateaubriand, in a neat 12mo.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. have in preparation:—The Women of the New and Old Testament; eighteen engravings of Female Characters of the New and Old Testament, with Descriptions by various American Clergymen, edited by the Rev. Dr. E. B. Sprague, 1 vol. imp. 8vo.:—The Four Gospels; arranged as a Practical Family Commentary, for every Day in the Year, by the Author of "The Peep of Day," &c., edited by Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., 1 vol. 8vo.:—Ollendorff's Elementary French Grammar; or, First Lessons in French, edited by G. W. Greene, 18mo.:—Living Authors of England, by Thomas Powell, 12mo.:—Contri-

butors to Legal Science, by John Anthon, 8vo.:—Byrne's New Method of Calculating the Logarithms of any given number, 12mo.:—Exercises in Greek Composition, by Prof. Boise, Brown University, 12mo.:—Cicero De Officiis, edited, with Notes, &c., by Prof. Thacher, Yale College, 12mo.:—Cicero's Orations, edited with Notes, &c., by Prof. Johnson, New-York University.

Mr. G. P. Putman has in Press,—The Illustrated Goldsmith.—Oliver Goldsmith, a Biography, by Washington Irving, with about 40 illustrations, selected by the publisher from Forster's Life of Goldsmith, Royal 8vo.:—The Illustrated Scripture Gift-Book, edited by Mrs. E. F. Ellett, comprising original articles by Rev. Dr. Bethune, Rev. H. Field, Rev. Mr. Burchard, and other eminent Divines:—The Illustrated Monuments of Egypt; Egypt and its Monuments, as illustrative of Scripture History, by the Rev. Dr. Hawks; with architectural and other views, Royal 8vo.:—The Illustrated Nineveh; Layard's Nineveh and its Remains, with 103 illustrations on wood and stone, 2 vols. in one:—The Fountain of Living Waters—By a Layman. In a neat and elegant presentation volume, with a vignette.

Those of our readers who do not watch the issue of the Sunday-school press, 200 Mulberry-street, (under the direction of Rev. D. P. Kidder,) have little idea of the excellence and abundance of its recent publications. Full provision is made, not only for the enlargement of Sunday-school libraries, but also for the wants of families and young persons, in neat and even beautiful volumes, on every variety of subject. Among the latest are "*Cortes; or, the Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*, by George Cubitt." A very pretty 18mo., in gilt muslin, containing a sketch of that wonderful chapter in human history, stranger even than romance—the subjugation of Mexico. "*The Court of Persia, viewed in Connexion with Scriptural Usages*, by John Kitto, D.D.;" got up in the same neat style. "*Dwellers on the Holy Hill*;" containing familiar illustrations of the characters described in the fifteenth Psalm. "*Lessons of a Disciple*;" or, Chapters in the Life of a young Lady. The "*Exiles; or, Scenes in the Tyrol*;" being a story of the persecuted Zillerthalers. The "*Minister's Study, and Scenes connected with it*." We renew our expression of hope, that our ministers and friends will endeavour to have these excellent publications placed in every *Methodist family*. We pay too little attention to the wants of children.

Messrs. Lane and Scott have recently published "*An Essay on Camp-Meetings*," by the author of the *True Evangelist*." (18mo., pp. 86.) Something of this kind has long been needed, and the want is now well supplied. This little volume contains an account of the origin and history of camp-meetings, a number of substantial arguments

in favour of such meetings, and a consideration of the common objections urged against them. It closes with excellent advice as to the proper improvement, the use and abuse, of these sacred gatherings. The work is well written, and breathes a very earnest religious spirit. We hope it will be widely circulated.

INDEX.

A.		C.	
	Page		Page
Abbott's, J., Hannibal.....	337	Carlyle, J. A., Translation of Dante	507
..... Julius Cæsar.....	679	....., Thomas, Writings of, re-	
..... Maria Antoinette.....	504	viewed.....	119, 217
..... Mary, Queen of Scots	148	....., Thomas, his Religious Opin-	
Adler's, G. J., German and English		ions and Character.....	235-240
Dictionary.....	533	....., Sketches of his	
American People, Character of....	654	Early Life.....	120
Anthon's Memorabilia.....	154	Chalmers, Genius and Labours of..	594
Apostles' Creed, Meyers on.....	687	....., Change in his Religious	
Arvine's Moral and Religious An-		Opinions.....	600
ecdotes.....	154	....., Intellectual Character of..	613
Asbury's, Bp., Cause, &c., of Church		....., last Public Appearance of	609
Division.....	336	.....'s Reputation as a Preacher	614
Assembly, Gen., of Scotch Church,		....., Summary of his Religious	
Effects of their Veto Act, 1834..	605	and Literary Character.....	619
Assyrian Sculpture.....	589	....., his Institutes of Theology	679
Athens, its Grandeur and Decay...	333	.....'s Horæ Sabbaticæ.....	595
		....., Full List of his Works..	345
		Channing, W. E., as a Philanthro-	
		pist.....	65
		....., as a Preacher.....	62
		....., as a Writer.....	71
		....., his Death.....	74
		....., his Devotion to	
		the Anti-slavery cause.....	67
		....., his Descriptions of	
		the Spiritual Life.....	55
		....., Review of his Life.....	50
		....., Review of his The-	
		ological Opinions.....	52
		Cheever's, Dr. G. B., Hill Difficul-	
		ty, &c.....	497
		....., Journal of the	
		Pilgrims, 1620.....	157
		....., Lectures on	
		Bunyan's Pilgrim.....	466
		....., Punishment by	
		Death.....	506
		Chillingworth's Works.....	157
		Christian Perfection defined.....	469
		....., Philosophy of,	
		reviewed.....	484
B.			
Baikie's Hydropathy.....	507		
Bangs on Emancipation.....	675		
.....'s Growth of New-York Con-			
ference.....	152		
Baptismal Regeneration.....	683		
Baptist Psalmist.....	448		
Beauchamp's Letters on Call, &c., of			
Ministers.....	502		
..... Letters on the Eternal			
Sonship.....	502		
Beecher's Imports and Modes of			
Baptism.....	149		
....., C., on the Incarnation....	498		
Bethune's Harvard Oration.....	677		
Bible, our English.....	331		
Bogue's Theological Lectures.....	677		
Bohn's, H. G., Standard Libraries..	500		
Bowdler's Family Shakspeare.....	503		
Brooke on Baptismal Regeneration	331		
Burkitt's Notes to New Testament	339		
Bushnell's God in Christ.....	329		
..... Christian Nurture.....	156		

	Page		Page
Christianity, Preparation for, in the History of the World, a Proof of its Divine Origin.....	429, 542	Everett, Rev. J., Expulsion of, from British Conference	681
Church and State, Incompatibility of Connexion of.....	611	Everts' Life and Thoughts of John Foster	340
....., Principle and Effects of their Union.....	323	Ewald's Reply to Lee's Charge of Plagiarism	509
....., Old and New School in Scottish Church.....	603	F.	
....., Review of Noel's	312	Fasting and Abstinence included in Ec. Polity of Methodism	209
Clarke's, G. W., Christ Crucified...	146	....., Duty of, considered.....	205
Claude's Essay on Composition of a Sermon	340	....., Divine Authority for.....	207
Coffin's, J. H., Elements of Conic Sections	152	Forster's Life of Goldsmith	351
Cooke's, W., Christian Theology..	143	Franklin's Autobiography and Public Life.....	334
Coleridge's, S. T., Hints for Comprehensive Theory of Life	146	Free Church of Scotland	605
Comparative Philology, not yet a Science	621	G.	
Conference, Gen., at Pittsburg, 1848, Journal of.....	157	Gammell's History of Baptist Missions	550
Corkran's, J. F., Constituent Assembly.....	676	Gerlach's, O. Von, Commentary on New Testament.....	268
Cormenin, de, his Compte Rendu..	43	German Lexicon, Adler's	533
Crane's Essay on Dancing.....	339	Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History...	670
Creamer's Methodist Hymnology..	378	Goldsmith, Literary Character and Style of.....	374
Cubitt's Columbus.....	333	Goodrich's Ancient and Modern Italy.....	341
D.		Gorham, Rev. J. D., and Bishop of Exeter, Case of.....	682
Davidson's Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament.....	142	Graham's Remains	503
..... Introduction to New Testament.....	402	Greek Spirit, Dissolution of the....	436
..... Translation of Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History.....	670	..... Literature in its Relation to Christianity	433
Death of Christ, Physical Cause of	185	Griswold's Sacred Poets.....	148
De Wette's Compendious Commentary on N. T.	339	Guyot's Earth and Man.....	501
....., Death of.....	686	H.	
Dixon, Rev. J., D. D., his Reception in the United States.....	9	Hades, Definitions of.....	77-86
....., Methodism in America, Notice of	493	Hagenbach's History of Doctrines .	345
....., Methodism in America, Review of.....	653	Hahn's Hebrew Bible.....	328
....., Sketch of his Literary Labours	17	Harris's Man Primeval	502
....., Sketch of his Ministerial Life	16	Hell, its Connexion with the Hebrew Word Sheol	82
Duff's N. American Accountant...	156	Herod, his Character and Reign...	545
Dwight's Mythology.....	148	Hildreth's History of the United States	508, 671
E.		Hodgson's Ecclesiastical Polity of Methodism Defended	150
Eastman's Dahcotah.....	505	Home Evangelization, Wants, &c., of	498
Ecclesiastes, Plan and Structure of Book of	174, 417	Hoole's Year-Book of Missions....	140
Edmondson's Short Sermons	156	Hulsean Lectures, 1845-6-7.....	144
..... Self-Government	151	Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.....	149
Education, Richter on.....	145	Hymn-Book, Methodist Episcopal, new and revised edition of.....	663
Essenes, Character of the Sect	548	Hymnology, Wesleyan	378, 449
		I.	
		Iconographic Encyclopædia.....	692
		Incarnation, Recent Works on	328

	Page		Page
Irving, Rev. E., Character of as a Preacher	117	Markham's History of France.....	153
....., his Oracles, Ora- tions, and Biography, Review of	109	Mason, Dr. J. M., Complete Works of	507
.....'s, Washington, Adventures of Capt. Bonneville, Notice of.....	504	Mattison's Elementary Astronomy	338
....., Goldsmith.....	676	Methodism, Ecclesiastical Polity of	150
....., Crayon Mis- cellany and Astoria.....	506	Methodist Conference (English) of 1849,	680
....., Columbus	335	....., Primitive.....	683
J.		Milnor, Dr. Jas., Life and Charac- ter of.....	407
Jesuits, Seymour's Mornings among	693	Missions, Hoole's Year-Book of ...	140
Jews, Political State of, at the Birth of Christ	545	....., Long's Hand-Book of.....	142
Jewett's, J. L., Oration, N. Y. Typo- graphical Society.....	332	....., American Board of.....	685
Johnson's Domestic Hydropathy... ..	675	....., Wesleyan, 1848	681
Jordan and the Dead Sea.....	633	Morell's Philosophy of Religion....	500
....., the River and Valley of ...	637	Morison's Exposition of Rom. ix....	686
Judaism and Heathenism, Relation of, considered	430, 549	N.	
Julian the Apostate.....	387	Nestorians, Destruction of	586
K.		Nineveh and its Remains.....	577
Knight's, C., Half-Hours with Best Authors.....	676	Noel's, Baptist W., Connexion with Baptist Church.....	684
Kruger's Greek Grammar	690	....., Union of Church and State.....	322
L.		O.	
Lamartine, Character and Genius of	553	Oehler's, G. F., Veteris Test. Sen- tentia, &c.	75
..... compared with Wash- ington	575	Olin's Relations of Christ. Principle to Mental Culture.....	147
..... contrasted with Gibbon	560	..... Religious Training	303
.....'s Raphael.....	335	P.	
Landis' Liberty's Triumph.....	672	Page's Theory & Practice of Teach- ing.....	341
Language, Origin and Progress of..	341	Paley, Charge of Plagiarism against	159
....., Phonetic, Diversities of	260	Parkman's California and Oregon Trail	337
....., Philosophical Study of	471, 620	Parsons on the Rose	506
..... and Style, Progressive Principle of.....	87	Peck's Christian Perfection.....	156
Lardner's Lectures on Science and Art.....	669	Pharisees, their Character and Pre- tensions.....	547
Latham on the English Language	140	Philo's representation of the Platonic Philosophy	550
Layard's Nineveh.....	577	Philology, see <i>Language</i> .	
Le Verrier's Planet	457	Platonism, its Influence on Early Christianity	438
Levings, Rev. Noah, Sketch of his Life, &c.....	515	Porter's Revivals of Religion.....	147
Long's Hand-Book of Bengal Mis- sions	142	Prophecy, its Duration and Office ..	544
Longfellow's Poems	340	Proselytes of Righteousness	550
Loomis's Trigonometry	146	..... of the Gate.....	550
Lyell's Second Visit to the United States	667	Psalmist, Baptist.....	448
Lynch's Jordan and Dead Sea....	633	Puritans, Influence of.....	249
Lyons' Christian Songs	155	Pütz's Manual of Ancient Geography and History	500
M.		R.	
Macaulay's History of England....	327	Raybold's Reminiscences of Method. in West Jersey, Notice of.....	339
Magoon's Proverbs for the People	149	Religious Training	304
..... Republican Christianity	504	Reporting for the Press	42
		Richter's Levana	145

	Page		Page
Ripley's Sacred Rhetoric	503	Sunday-School Methodist Episcopal Publications and Tracts, Descriptive Catalogue of	677
Rome, Internal Condition of, at Establishment of Christianity.....	442		
Romish Church, crushing Power of its System.....	673	T.	
Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture.....	670	Telegraph, Magnetic, its Effects on Newspaper Reporting.....	49
Ruxton's Life in the Far West....	507	Therapeutæ, Character of the sect.	551
		Thornton's Oregon and California	337
S.		Trench's Hulsean Lectures	144
Sabbath, Christian, Proof that it is the Lord's Day.....	21	Tupper's Poetical Works.....	503
Sadducees, System of the	548	Turnbull's Genius of Italy.....	506
Schmitz's, L., Latin Grammar.....	505	..... Review of Dr. Bushnell	497
Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series.....	153	..... Theophany	330
Seymour's Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome.....	673	Tyler's Tacitus	335
Shaw's Outlines of English Literature	336		
Sheol, Meaning of.....	75	U.	
Sherlock on Divine Providence	158, 499	Upham's Life of Catharine Adorna	151
Singers' Manual	675	Unitarian Controversy, Channing's part in.....	52, 57
Slavery, American, Evils of.....	68		
....., Letters on, by Dr. Bangs .	678	V.	
....., Question of, considered	283, 659	Vaughan's Age of Christianity....	497
Smith's Mechanics	338	Virgin, the, Catholic Idea of her Efficacy as a Mediator.....	675
Socinians, Jno. Wesley's Opinion of Thomas Firmin.....	50		
Southern M. E. Church, History of Organization of	282	W.	
Southern M. E. Pulpit	157	Warren's Duties of Attorneys and Solicitors.....	150
Southey's Common-Place Book....	678	Wedgwood on the Understanding.	143
Stephen's, Sir James, Essay on Ecclesiastical Biography	690	Weiss's Hydropathy	505
St. John's Adventures in the Libyan Desert, &c.	498	Wesley, C., his Sacred Poetry....	379
Stoicism	445	....., J. & C., their inviolable Fraternal Friendship.....	386
Stone's Memoir of Milnor.....	407	Wesleyan Conference, see <i>Methodism</i> .	
Stoughton's Spiritual Heroes.....	241	Wheeler's History of Congress....	157
Strickland's History of American Bible Society	670	Wickens' Pilgrim's Progress.....	148
Stroud's, Dr. W., Physical Cause of Death of Christ.....	185	Wikoff's, N. L., Bonaparte.....	338
Sunday-School Books, notice of...	158	Wilberforce on the Incarnation....	328
		Woodbury's German-English Grammar	342
		Y.	
		Yezidis, Curious Particulars of....	587

